
GOLDEN TREASURY
SERIES

Cambridge
PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

I. 12000 .9.76

BACON'S ESSAYS

AND

COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL

WITH

NOTES AND GLOSSARIAL INDEX

BY

W. ALDIS WRIGHT M.A.

TRINITY COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE



NEW EDITION

London

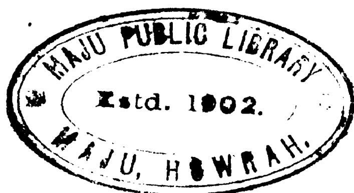
MACMILLAN AND CO.

1876

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FRANCIS BACON

BORN	22 Jan. 1560–1
Matriculated at Trin. Coll. Cambridge	10 June, 1573
Admitted at Gray's Inn . .	21 Nov. 1576
First sat in the House of Commons as Member for Melcombe	1584
Knighted by James i. . . .	23 July, 1603
King's Counsel	25 Aug. 1604
Solicitor General . . .	25 June, 1607
Attorney General . . .	26 Oct. 1613
Privy Councillor . . .	9 June, 1616
Lord Keeper	3 March, 1616–7
Lord High Chancellor . .	4 Jan. 1617–8
Baron Verulam	July, 1618
Viscount St Alban . . .	27 Jan. 1620–1
Sentenced by the House of Lords	3 May, 1621
Died	9 Apr. 1626



PREFACE

UNDER the date 5 *Feb.* 1596 *the following entry occurs in the books of the Stationers' Company. "Hūfrey Hooper. Entred for his copie under thandes of Mr Fr^{a} Bacon Mr D Stanhope Mr Barlowe, and Mr Warden Dawson, a booke intituled Essaies Religious meditations, places of perswasion and diswasion by Mr Fr. Bacon." This was the first edition of Bacon's Essays. They were published in a small* 8*vo. volume, of which the full title is as follows: "Essayes. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and disswasion. Seene and allowed. At London, Printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are to be sold at the blacke Beare in Chauncery Lane.* 1597.*" The dedication to Antony Bacon occupies three pages. Then follow the table of Contents and the Essays, ten in number;* 1. *Of studie.* 2. *Of discourse.* 3. *Of Ceremonies and respects.* 4. *Of followers and friends.* 5. *Sutors.* 6. *Of expence.* 7. *Of Regiment of health.* 8. *Of Honour and reputation.* 9. *Of Faction.* 10. *Of Negociating. The Essays occupy thirteen folios, and are followed by the "Meditationes Sacræ," or Religious Meditations, in Latin,*

consisting of 15 *folios besides the title, and these by "The Coulers of Good and euill," which are the "places of perswasion and disswasion" already mentioned. The numbering of the folios in the last two is consecutive,* 32 *in all. This volume was dedicated by Bacon to his brother Anthony in the following Epistle.*

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE

To M. Anthony Bacon

his deare Brother.

Louing and beloued Brother, I doe nowe like some that haue an Orcharde ill neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent stealing. These fragments of my conceites were going to print; To labour the staie of them had bin troublesome, and subiect to interpretation; to let them passe had beene to aduēture the wrong they mought receiue by vntrue Coppies, or by some garnishment, which it mought please any that should set them forth to bestow vpon them. Therefore I helde it best discreation to publish them my selfe as they passed long agoe from my pen, without any further disgrace, then the weaknesse of the Author. And as I did euer hold, there mought be as great a vanitie in retiring and withdrawing mens conceites (except they bee of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them: So in these particulars I haue played my selfe the Inquisitor, and find nothing to my vnderstanding in them contrarie or infectious to the state of Religion, or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Only I disliked now to put them out because they will

bee like the late new halfe-pence[1]*, which though the Siluer were good, yet the peeces were small. But since they would not stay with their Master, but would needes trauaile abroade, I haue preferred them to you that ar next my selfe, Dedicating them, such as they are, to our loue, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I sometimes wish your infirmities translated vppon my selfe, that her Maiestie mought haue the seruice of so actiue and able a mind, & I mought be with excuse confined to these contemplations & Studies for which I am fittest, so commend I you to the preseruation of the diuine Maiestie. From my Chamber at Graies Inne this* 30. *of Ianuarie.* 1597.

Your entire Louing brother.

FRAN. BACON.

The date of this letter, if not a printer's error, is evidently intended to be 1596–7, *according to the then reckoning of the civil year, which began on the* 25*th of March. We have the entry at Stationers' Hall on Feb.* 5*; a memorandum on the title page of the copy in the British Museum that it was sold on the* 7*th of Feb.*, 39 *Eliz.* (*i.e.* 1596–7)*; and a letter of Anthony Bacon's to the Earl of Essex, written on the* 8*th of Feb.* 1596, *which appears to have accompanied a presentation copy of the Essays. There are MSS. of this edition in the British Museum* (*Lansd. MSS.* 775), *and the Cam- Univ. Lib.* (*Nn.* 4. 5). *The latter I have*

[1] Coined for the first time in 1582–3, and used without interruption till 1601. See Folkes, *Table of English Silver Coins*, p. 57, ed. 1745.

printed in the Appendix. A fragment containing the essays 'Of Faction' and 'Of Negotiatinge' is in the Harleian collection (*no.* 6797). *In* 1598 *a second edition was published by Humfrey Hooper, also in small* 8*vo, differing from the first in having the Meditations in English, and the table of Contents of the Essays at the back of the title page. A pirated edition was printed for John Jaggard in* 1606, *and in* 1612 *he was preparing another reprint, when the second author's edition appeared. In consequence of this, Jaggard cancelled the last two leaves of quire G, and in their place substituted "the second part of Essaies," which contains all the additional Essays not printed in the edition of* 1597. *On the authority of a MS. list by Malone Mr Singer mentions an edition in* 1604, *but I have found no other trace of it.*

During the summer of the year 1612 *Bacon himself had prepared and printed, in a small* 8*vo. volume of* 241 *pages, a second edition of the Essays by themselves, in which the original ten, with the exception of that "Of Honour and reputation," were altered and enlarged, and twenty-nine new Essays added. The title of this second edition is; "The Essaies of S^r^ Francis Bacon Knight, the Kings Sollicitor Generall. Imprinted at London by Iohn Beale,* 1612." *It was entered at Stationers' Hall on the* 12*th of October, as follows. "W^m^ Hall, John Beale. Entred for their copy under the handes of my Lo: Bysshopp of London & the Wardens A booke called The Essayes of S^r^ Fr^s^ Bacon knight the Ks Sollicitor gen'all." It was Bacon's intention to have dedicated it to Prince Henry, and the dedication was actually written, but in consequence of*

the Prince's death on the 6th of November, it was addressed instead to his brother in law Sir John Constable[2]. *A copy of the dedication to Prince Henry exists in the British Museum* (*Birch MSS.* 4259, *fol.* 155), *and is written on a single leaf which appears on examination to have belonged to an imperfect MS. of the Essays, preserved among the Harleian MSS.* (*no.* 5106), *which Mr Spedding describes as "a volume undoubtedly authentic; for it contains interlineations in Bacon's own hand; and transcribed some time between* 1607, *when Bacon became Solicitor-general, and* 1612, *when he brought out a new edition of the Essays with further additions and alterations. It is unluckily not quite perfect; one leaf at least, if not more, having been lost at the beginning; though otherwise in excellent preservation.*

"*The title page, which remains, bears the following inscription, very handsomely written in the old English character, with flourished capitals:* The writings of Sr Francis Bacon Knt. the Kinge's Sollicitor Generall: in Moralitie, Policie, and Historie." (*Bacon's* Works, VI. *p.* 535).

The Essays in this MS. are thirty-four in number, and include two, "Of Honour and Reputation" and "Of Seditions and Troubles," which are not contained in the edition of 1612, *while in the printed edition six new Essays were added, "Of Religion," "Of Cunning," "Of Loue," "Of Iudicature," "Of vaine glory," and "Of greatnes of Kingdomes." It is to this MS. I have referred in the notes, when quoting the*

[2] Sir John Constable married Dorothy Barnham the sister of Lady Bacon.

MS. of the edition of 1612. *The dedication to Prince Henry was as follows:*

"*To the most high and excellent Prince Henry, Prince of Wales, D: of Cornwall and Earle of Chester*

Yt may please your H.

Having devided my life into the contemplative and active parte, I am desirous to giue his M, and yo^r H. of the fruite of both, simple thoughe they be. To write iust Treatises requireth leasure in the Writer, and leasure in the Reader, and therefore are not so fitt, neither in regard of yo^r H: princely affaires, nor in regard of my continuall service, w^ch is the cause, that hath made me choose to write certaine breif notes, sett downe rather significantlye, then curiously, w^ch I have called ESSAIES. The word is late, but the thing is auncient. For Senacaes *Epistles to* Lucilius, *yf one marke them well, are but* Essaies,—*That is dispersed Meditacons, thoughe conveyed in the forme of Epistles. Theis labors of myne I know cannot be worthie of yo^r H: for what can be worthie of you. But my hope is, they may be as graynes of salte, that will rather give you an appetite, then offend you w^th satiety. And althoughe they handle those things wherein both mens Lives and theire pens are most conversant yet* (*What I have attained, I knowe not*) *but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar; but of a nature, whereof a man shall find much in experience, litle in bookes; so as they are neither repeticons nor fansies. But howsoever, I shall most humbly desier yo^r H: to accept them in gratious part, and so contrive that if I cannot rest,*

but must shewe my dutifull, and devoted affection to yo^r H: in theis things w^ch proceed from my self, I shalbe much more ready to doe it, in performance of yo^r princely commaundmente; And so wishing yo^r H: all princely felicitye I rest.

Yo^r H: most humble

Servant."

The dedication to Sir John Constable is more simple and natural.

"*To my loving brother, S^r Iohn Constable Knight.*

My last Essaies I dedicated to my deare brother Master Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the same Nature: which if I my selfe shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the World will not; by the often printing of the former. Missing my Brother, I found you next; in respect of bond of neare alliance, and of straight friendship and societie, and particularly of communication in studies. Wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding to you. For as my businesse found rest in my contemplations; so my contemplations euer found rest in your louing conference and iudgement. So wishing you all good, I remaine

Your louing brother and friend,

FRA. BACON."

The Table of Contents gives a list of forty Essays but the last two were not printed. 1. *Of Religion.* 2. *Of Death.* 3. *Of Goodnes and goodnes of nature.* 4. *Of*

Cunning. 5. *Of Marriage and single life.* 6. *Of Parents and Children.* 7. *Of Nobilitie.* 8. *Of Great place.* 9. *Of Empire.* 10. *Of Counsell.* 11. *Of Dispatch.* 12. *Of Loue.* 13. *Of Friendshippe.* 14. *Of Atheisme.* 15. *Of Superstition.* 16. *Of Wisdome for a Mans selfe.* 17. *Of Regiment of Health.* 18. *Of Expences.* 19. *Of Discourse.* 20. *Of Seeming wise.* 21. *Of Riches.* 22. *Of Ambition.* 23. *Of Young men and age.* 24. *Of Beautie.* 25. *Of Deformitie.* 26. *Of nature in Men.* 27. *Of Custome and Education.* 28. *Of Fortune.* 29. *Of Studies.* 30. *Of Ceremonies and respects.* 31. *Of Sutors.* 32. *Of Followers.* 33. *Of Negociating.* 34. *Of Faction.* 35. *Of Praise.* 36. *Of Iudicature.* 37. *Of vaine glory.* 38. *Of greatnes of Kingdomes.* 39. *Of the publike.* 40. *Of Warre and peace.* The second edition must have been published between the 6th of November, the date of Prince Henry's death, and the 17th of Dec. when Chamberlain wrote the letter which is quoted in the note to Essay 44.

In 1613 Jaggard published a reprint of this edition, also in small 8vo, containing the omitted Essay "Of Honour and Reputation," the Religious Meditations, and the Colours of Good and Evil; and in the same year another reprint was issued by the same publisher with a new title page and the printer's errors of the former corrected. Copies of both these impressions are in the Cambridge University Library, to which they were presented, with a large collection of Bacon's works, by Basil Montagu. The latter is noted in Montagu's Catalogue as having Bacon's autograph, but the fly leaf containing it has been torn out, apparently since it has been in the Library.

In 1614 *another edition appeared, printed at Edinburgh for A. Hart.*

Malone mentions an edition in 1618, *in the dedication to which, he says, Bacon* "*speaks of* several *editions having been then printed*" (*Prior's* Life of Malone, *p.* 424). *If the date be correct, which there is reason to doubt, this could only have been a reprint of the edition of* 1612. *In Reed's Catalogue* (*no.* 1683) *a copy is mentioned with the date* 1619, *and another* (*no.* 1772) *a quarto with the date* 1622. *Mr Singer says, but without giving his authority,* "*there were, it seems, editions in* 1622, 1623, *and* 1624 *in* 4*to.*" *I have been unable to find any of these.*

In 1624 *was published a reprint of Jaggard's pirated edition of* 1613, *by Elizabeth Jaggard, probably his widow. All the above mentioned are in small* 8*vo.*

The third and last author's edition, of which the present volume is a reprint, was published in small 4*to in* 1625, *the year before Bacon's death. The number of Essays was increased to fifty-eight, of which twenty were new and the rest altered or enlarged. The entry at Stationers' Hall is dated the* 13*th of March,* 1624. "*Mr Whiteacre. Hanna Barrett. Entered for their copie under the handes of the lo. B. of London and Mr Lownes Warden. The Essayes & counsell morrall and civill of Francis lo. Verulam Vicount St Albon.*" *A copy in the Cambridge University Library* (*xvii.* 36. 14) *was presented by Bacon to Sir John Finch on the* 30*th of March* 1625. *It was therefore evidently published some time in the latter part of March* 1624—5.

The three editions of 1597, 1612, *and* 1625 *are the only ones which possess any authority, the rest appa-*

rently having been issued without the author's supervision or sanction. But in 1618 *an Italian translation of the second edition was published by John Beale, which was made with Bacon's knowledge, if not at his request. The author of the translation is not known. Mr Singer conjectured that it was Father Fulgentio, but Mr Spedding shews clearly, by an extract from the preface of Andrea Cioli, who brought out a revised reprint at Florence in* 1619, *that the translation was not the work of an Italian, but of some foreigner, in all probability of an Englishman. The volume in which it is contained is a small* 8*vo, entitled, "Saggi Morali del Signore Francesco Bacono, Cavagliero Inglese, Gran Cancelliero d'Inghilterra. Con vn'altro suo Trattato della Sapienza degli Antichi. Tradotti in Italiano. In Londra. Appresso di Giovanni Billio.* 1618." *The* Saggi Morali *occupy* 102 *pages, and are thirty-eight in number; the two Essays 'Of Religion' and 'Of Superstition' being omitted, and their place supplied by those 'Of Honour and Reputation,' and 'Of Seditions and Troubles,' the latter of which had not as yet appeared in English. The dedication to Cosmo, Grand Duke of Tuscany, was written by Mr Tobie Matthew, Bacon's intimate friend, but throws no light upon the authorship of the translation. He merely says that he found the two works in the possession of Sir William Cavendish, who presented them to him with the Author's permission. That the translation was published with Bacon's sanction is evident from the fact that the Essay "Of Seditions and Troubles," which then existed only in MS., was included in the volume, and that a portion of the dedicatory letter to*

Prince Henry was incorporated in Matthew's preface. The passage "To write iust Treatises...fansies" is translated nearly word for word, the change of person being of course observed. Of this Italian translation, according to Mr Singer, there were two editions bearing the same date, but differing in the titles of some of the Essays. As I have seen but one, I subjoin his description. He says, "In one of the copies now before me the Essays contain 102 *pages, the Wisdom of the Ancients* 150 *pages, and a list of Errata is appended to each. In the other copy the Essays comprise* 112 *pages, the last of which is blank; the Wisdom of the Ancients* 126 *pages only, and there is no list of Errata. Beside the changes in the titles of the Essays, there are also some in the titles of the chapters in the Wisdom of the Ancients; and it is probable that the text of the version is also revised, but I have not collated it."*

The French translation published in 1619 *was by Sir Arthur Gorges.*

But the only translation to which any importance can be attached, as having in a great measure the impress of Bacon's authority, is the Latin. From the dedication of the third edition it is evident that, at the time it was written, Bacon had in course of preparation a Latin translation of the Essays, which it appears to have been his intention to have published immediately, probably as part of the volume of which we find the entry in the books of Stationers' Hall, on the 4*th of April,* 1625, *but which he did not live to bring out. The entry is as follows: "Mrs Griffin. Jo. Havilond. Entred for their coppie under the hands of Doct^r Wilson and Mathewes Lownes warden A booke called*

Operum Francisci Baronis Verulami Vice Comitis Sancti Albani by S^r Fran: Bacon." This was probably intended to be the second volume of his works, the De Augmentis *being the first, and to have contained what were afterwards published by his chaplain, Dr Rawley, in* 1638, *under the title* Operum Moralium et Civilium Tomus. *Among these were the Essays in their Latin dress: "Sermones fideles, sive interiora rerum. Per Franciscum Baconum Baronem de Verulamio, Vice-Comitem Sancti Albani." The question then arises, by whom was the translation made? Internal evidence is sufficient to shew that it was the work of several hands, but it is impossible from this alone to assign to each his work. Archbishop Tenison, in his Baconiana (pp.* 60, 61, *ed.* 1679) *says of the Essays:* "*The* Latine *Translation of them was a Work performed by divers Hands; by those of Doctor* Hacket (*late Bishop of* Lichfield) *Mr.* Benjamin Johnson (*the learned and judicious Poet*) *and some others, whose Names I once heard from Dr.* Rawley; *but I cannot now recal them. To this* Latine *Edition, he gave the Title of* Sermones Fideles, *after the manner of the* Jews, *who call'd the words* Adagies, *or Observations of the* Wise, Faithful Sayings; *that is, credible Propositions worthy of firm Assent, and ready Acceptance. And* (*as I think*) *he alluded more particularly, in this Title, to a passage in* Ecclesiastes[3], *where the Preacher saith that he sought to find out* Verba Delectabilia, (*as* Tremellius *rendreth the* Hebrew) pleasant Words, (*that is, perhaps, his Book of* Canticles); *and* Verba

[3] Eccles. xii. 10, 11.

Fidelia (*as the same* Tremellius) *Faithful Sayings; meaning, it may be, his Collection of* Proverbs. *In the next Verse, he calls them* Words of the Wise, *and so many Goads and Nails given* Ab eodem Pastore, *from the same Shepherd [of the Flock of Israel].*" *The next direct testimony is that of Aubrey. Speaking of Hobbes of Malmesbury, and his intimacy with Bacon, he says;* "*Mr. Tho. Hobbes* (*Malmesburiensis*) *was beloved by his Lop. who was wont to have him walke with him in his delicate groves, when he did meditate: and when a notion darted into his mind, Mr. Hobbes was presently to write it downe, and his Lop. was wont to say that he did it better than any one els about him; for that many times, when he read their notes he scarce understood what they writt, because they understood it not clearly themselves*" (Letters, II. 222, 3). *Again;* "*He assisted his Lordship in translating severall of his essayes into Latin, one I well remember is that, Of the Greatness of Cities: the rest I have forgott*" (II. *p.* 602). *In another passage Aubrey is still more precise:* "*He told me that he was employed in translating part of the Essayes, viz. three of them, one whereof was that of the Greatnesse of Cities, the other two I have now forgott*" (II. *p.* 234). *The Essay here called* "*Of the Greatnesse of Cities*" *is no doubt that which stands as Essay* XXIX. "*Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates,*" *and which first appeared in Latin in the* De Augmentis. *It is certainly one of the best translated of all, and arguing from internal evidence, based on a comparison of it with the rest, I should be inclined to set down as the other two, which Hobbes translated but which Aubrey had forgotten, the Essays* "*Of Simula-*

c 2

tion and Dissimulation," and *"Of Innovations." This of course is a mere conjecture, but it seems a reasonable one. Who translated the others it is impossible to say. Among the* Maloniana *in Prior's* Life of Malone (*p.* 424, *ed.* 1860), *we find the following. "It is not commonly known that the translation of Bacon's* Essays *into Latin, which was published in* 1619, *was done by the famous John Selden; but this is proved decisively by a letter from N. N. (John Selden N.) to Camden (See Camden.* Epistol., 4*to.* 1691, *p.* 278). *In the* General Dict. *and several other books, this translation is ascribed to Bishop Hacket and Ben Jonson." The letter to which Malone alludes is anonymous, and the writer says that he had translated Bacon's Essays into Latin, after the correctest copy published in Italian. The original is among the Cotton MSS. Julius C.* 5, *and is evidently a transcript in some hand not Selden's. In the heading as it stands in the printed volume, "N. N. Clarissimo Viro Gulielmo Camdeno suo," N. N.* (*i. e.* non nominato) *is added by the editor, who was certainly not aware that Selden was the writer. What authority Malone had for speaking so positively upon the point I have been unable to discover. There is nothing contrary to probability in the supposition that Selden may have translated the Essays in* 1619, *but there is nothing to shew that his translation was ever published, as Malone asserts. It certainly is not indicated in the letter itself, of which the following is the passage in question. "Joannes Sarisburiensis e nostris pene solus est, qui rimatus arcana Ethices et Philologiæ puriora, monimentum reliquit mentis Philosophicæ in libris* de nugis Curia-

lium; *nuperrime vero magnus ille Franciscus Baconus in tentamentis suis Ethico-politicis, quæ ex Anglico sermone ad correctissimum, Italice editum, exemplar, in Latinum transtuli.*" *The date of the letter is* "*Londini xiv Julii Anglorum CIↃ.DC.XIX.*" *There is one allusion in it which favours the supposition that it may have been Selden's.* "*Propterea si sapientiæ et scientiarum in Britannia nondum cœlitus edocta lineamenta enucleatius exposuero in Historiis meis, qualia apud priscos cum Druydes, tum Saxones (parentes nostros) ea extitisse comperero, haud perperam ego aut inutiliter bonas horas trivisse judicer, utpote quæ ad bonam mentem suo more fecerint.*" *This may refer to his* Analecta Anglo-Britannica, *and the Notes to Drayton's Polyolbion; but upon such evidence it is impossible to decide.*

There are strong indications of Bacon's supervision in the translation of the Essays "*Of Plantations,*" "*Of Building,*" *and* "*Of Gardens,*" *in which there are alterations and additions which none but the author himself would have ventured to make. In the other Essays the deviations from the English are not so remarkable, though even in these there are variations which are worthy of notice. The most important are given in the notes to the present Volume.*

That the preparation of a Latin translation had been in Bacon's mind for two or three years before his death is clear, from a letter to Mr Tobie Matthew, written apparently about the end of June, 1623. "*It is true, my labours are now most set to have those works, which I had formerly published, as that of* Advancement of Learning, *that of* Henry VII. *that of the*

Essays, *being retractate, and made more perfect, well translated into Latin by the help of some good pens, which forsake me not. For these modern languages will, at one time or other, play the bankrupts with books: and since I have lost much time with this age, I would be glad, as God shall give me leave, to recover it with posterity*" (*Bacon's* Works, xii. *p.* 448, *ed. Montagu*). *But there is nothing to shew that any part of the translation was done by Bacon himself; it is probable that he exercised only a general supervision over it.*

The Colours of Good and Evil were first published in 1597, *in the volume already described as containing the first edition of the Essays. They were reprinted in the edition of* 1598, *and in the various pirated impressions of which account has been given, but never again in English with Bacon's sanction. They were incorporated in the* De Augmentis, *where they appear in Latin in B.* 6. *c.* 3, *with some additions and alterations.*

A few words remain to be said with regard to the present volume. I have endeavoured to give an accurate reprint of the edition of 1625, *from a comparison of ten copies of that edition which, though bearing the same date, are all different from each other in points of no great importance. The variations of these copies are given in the Appendix to the Notes. The only alteration I have made has been the adoption of the modern usage with regard to the letters* u *and* v. *The Colours of Good and Evil are reprinted from the edition of* 1597; *the deviations from it are given in the Notes, and are merely corrections of obvious errors. My chief object in the Notes themselves has been to shew*

how the Essays have grown into their present shape, and for this purpose I have marked all the variations from the previous editions of 1597, *and* 1612, *and have given indication of the manner in which in each successive edition the Essays were expanded and modified. In addition to this I have quoted, where possible, any parallel passages which I had met with in other works of Bacon, and which appeared either to contain the germ of an Essay, or to exhibit the same thought in another form. Throughout I have collated the Latin translation, and have given the results of the collation wherever it seemed to throw any light upon, or to contain anything which was not in the English Edition. The Glossary is intended, not so much to assist the English reader, who will find few difficulties in Bacon's language or style, as to record all the archaisms both of diction and construction which seemed worthy of note. With regard to the names of the plants contained in the Essay "Of Gardens" I have endeavoured as far as possible, by consulting the old herbals of Lyte, Gerarde, and Parkinson, to identify them with the more modern appellations, but I cannot hope, in all cases, to have been successful.*

In conclusion, I have to express my thanks to the Stationers' Company for permission to search their books for the entries of the three editions of the Essays published in Bacon's life time, and to Mr Spedding for the ready assistance he has always given me in all cases of doubt and difficulty upon which I have consulted him.

W. A. WRIGHT.

CAMBRIDGE,
4 *Sept.*, 1862.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

In the present edition the text and notes have undergone a complete revision, and some slight errors have been corrected.

The insertion of a few notes, and the addition of some words to the Glossarial Index are all the material changes that have been made.

W. A. W.

CAMBRIDGE,
12 *May*, 1865.

THE
ESSAYES
OR
COVNSELS,
CIVILL AND
MORALL,
OF
FRANCIS LO. *VERVLAM*,
VISCOVNT S^t. ALBAN.

Newly enlarged.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN HAVILAND for
HANNA BARRET, and RICHARD
WHITAKER, and are to be sold
at the signe of the Kings head in
Pauls Church-yard. 1625.



TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD Lo. THE DVKE of *Buckingham* his *Grace*, Lo. High *Admirall* of *England*.

EXCELLENT LO.

SALOMON saies; *A good Name is as a precious oyntment;* And I assure my selfe, such wil your *Graces* Name bee, with Posteritie. For your Fortune, and Merit both, haue beene Eminent. And you haue planted Things, that are like to last. I doe now publish my *Essayes;* which of all my other workes, haue beene most Currant: For that, as it seemes, they come home, to Mens Businesse, and Bosomes. I haue enlarged them, both in Number, and Weight; So that they are indeed a New Worke. I thought it therefore agreeable, to my Affection, and Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your Name before them, both in English, and in Latine. For I doe conceiue, that the

Latine Volume of them, (being in the Vniuersall Language) may last, as long as Bookes last. My *Instauration*, I dedicated to the *King:* My *Historie* of *HENRY the Seuenth*, (which I haue now also translated into Latine) and my *Portions* of *Naturall History*, to the *Prince:* And these I dedicate to your *Grace;* Being of the best Fruits, that by the good Encrease, which *God* giues to my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. *God* leade your *Grace* by the Hand.

Your Graces most Obliged and

faithfull Seruant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

THE TABLE

St. Jn XIX. 37-38

Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born and for this cause came I into the world that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice. Pilate said unto him What is truth. And when he had said this he went out again to the Jews . . .

Bishop Reynolds "On the Passions" "In regard of perfection (there is) intuitive knowledge, as that of the angels . . . . and discursive, as that of man, whereby we know things by ratiocination." "Discoursing wits" in that case would mean "arguing minds" but it is safer to take the meaning of Bacon's Latin translation – ventosa et discursantia windy & rambling. –

ESSAYES

I

Of Truth

WHAT *is Truth;* said jesting *Pilate;* And would not stay for an Answer. Certainly there be, that delight in Giddinesse; And count it a Bondage, to fix a Beleefe; Affecting Free-will in Thinking, as well as in Acting. And though the Sects of Philosophers of that Kinde be gone, yet there remaine certaine discoursing Wits, which are of the same veines, though there be not so much Bloud in them, as was in those of the Ancients. But it is not onely the Difficultie, and Labour, which Men take in finding out of *Truth;* Nor againe, that when it is found, it imposeth upon mens Thoughts; that doth bring *Lies* in favour: But a naturall, though corrupt Love, of the *Lie* it selfe. One of the later Schoole of the Grecians, examineth the matter, and is at a stand, to thinke what should be in it, that men should love *Lies;* Where neither they make for Pleasure, as with Poets; Nor for Advantage, as with

the Merchant; but for the *Lies* sake. But I cannot tell: This same *Truth*, is a Naked, and Open day light, that doth not shew, the Masques, and Mummeries, and Triumphs of the world, halfe so Stately, and daintily, as Candlelights. *Truth* may perhaps come to the price of a Pearle, that sheweth best by day: But it will not rise, to the price of a Diamond, or Carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a *Lie* doth ever adde Pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of Mens Mindes, Vaine Opinions, Flattering Hopes, False valuations, Imaginations as one would, and the like; but it would leave the Mindes, of a Number of Men, poore shrunken Things; full of Melancholy, and Indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the Fathers, in great Severity, called Poesie, *Vinum Dæmonum;* because it filleth the Imagination, and yet it is, but with the shadow of a *Lie.* But it is not the *Lie*, that passeth through the Minde, but the *Lie* that sinketh in, and setleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus, in mens depraved Iudgements, and Affections, yet *Truth*, which onely doth iudge it selfe, teacheth, that the Inquirie of *Truth*, which is the Love-making, or Wooing of it; The knowledge of *Truth*, which is the Presence of it; and the Beleefe of *Truth*, which is the Enioying of it; is the Soveraigne Good of humane Nature. The first Creature of God, in the workes of the Dayes, was the Light of the Sense; The last, was the Light of Reason; And his Sabbath Worke,

ever since, is the Illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed Light, upon the Face, of the Matter or Chaos; Then he breathed Light, into the Face of Man; and still he breatheth and inspireth Light, into the Face of his Chosen. The Poet, that beautified the Sect, that was otherwise inferiour to the rest, saith yet excellently well: *It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tost upon the Sea: A pleasure to stand in the window of a Castle, and to see a Battaile, and the Adventures thereof, below: But no pleasure is comparable, to the standing, upon the vantage ground of Truth:* (A hill not to be commanded, and where the Ayre is alwaies cleare and serene;) *And to see the Errours, and Wandrings, and Mists, and Tempests, in the vale below:* So alwaies, that this prospect, be with Pitty, and not with Swelling, or Pride. Certainly, it is Heaven upon Earth, to have a Mans Minde Move in Charitie, Rest in Providence, and Turne upon the Poles of *Truth.*

To passe from Theologicall, and Philosophicall *Truth*, to the *Truth* of civill Businesse; It will be acknowledged, even by those, that practize it not, that cleare and Round dealing, is the Honour of Mans Nature; And that Mixture of Falshood, is like Allay in Coyne of Gold and Silver; which may make the Metall worke the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding, and crooked courses, are the Goings of the Serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the Feet. There is no Vice, that doth so cover a Man with Shame, as to be found false, and perfidious. And therefore *Moun-*

taigny saith prettily, when he enquired the reason, why the word of the *Lie*, should be such a Disgrace, and such an Odious Charge? Saith he, *If it be well weighed, To say that a man lieth, is as much to say, as that he is brave towards God, and a Coward towards Men.* For a *Lie* faces God, and shrinkes from Man. Surely the Wickednesse of Falshood, and Breach of Faith, cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last Peale, to call the Iudgements of God, upon the Generations of Men, It being foretold, that when Christ commeth, *He shall not finde Faith upon the Earth.*

II

Of Death

MEN feare *Death*, as Children feare to goe in the darke: And as that Natural Feare in Children, is increased with Tales, so is the other. Certainly, the Contemplation of *Death*, as the *wages of sinne*, and Passage to another world, is Holy, and Religious; But the Feare of it, as a Tribute due unto Nature, is weake. Yet in Religious Meditations, there is sometimes, Mixture of Vanitie, and of Superstition. You shal reade, in some of the Friars Books of *Mortification*, that a man should thinke with himselfe, what the Paine is, if he have but his Fingers end Pressed, or Tortured; And thereby imagine, what the Paines of *Death* are, when the whole Body, is corrupted and dissolved; when many times, *Death* passeth with lesse paine, then the Torture of a Limme: For the most vitall parts, are not the quickest of Sense. And by him, that spake onely as a Philosopher, and Naturall Man, it was well said; *Pompa Mortis magis terret, quàm Mors ipsa.* Groanes and Convulsions, and a disco-

loured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blackes, and Obsequies, and the like, shew *Death* Terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the minde of man, so weake, but it Mates, and Masters, the Feare of *Death*: And therefore Death, is no such terrible Enemie, when a man hath so many Attendants, about him, that can winne the combat of him. *Revenge* triumphs over *Death; Love* slights it; *Honour* aspireth to it; *Griefe* flieth to it; *Feare* pre-occupateth it; Nay we reade, after *Otho* the Emperour had slaine himselfe, *Pitty* (which is the tenderest of Affections) provoked many to die, out of meere compassion to their Soveraigne, and as the truest sort of Followers. Nay *Seneca* addes *Nicenesse & Saciety; Cogita quam diù eadem feceris; Mori velle, non tantùm Fortis, aut Miser, sed etiàm Fastidiosus potest.* A man would die, though he were neither valiant, nor miserable, onely upon a wearinesse to doe the same thing, so oft over and over. It is no lesse worthy to observe, how little Alteration, in good Spirits, the Approaches of *Death* make; For they appeare, to be the same Men, till the last Instant. *Augustus Cæsar* died in a Complement; *Livia, Coniugij nostri memor, vive & vale. Tiberius* in dissimulation; As *Tacitus* saith of him; *Iam Tiberium Vires, & Corpus, non Dissimulatio, deserebant. Vespasian* in a Iest; Sitting upon the Stoole, *Ut puto Deus fio. Galba* with a Sentence; *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani;* Holding forth his Necke. *Septimius Severus* in dispatch; *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum.* And the like. Certainly, the

Stoikes bestowed too much cost upon *Death*, and by their great preparations, made it appeare more fearefull. Better saith he, *Qui Finem Vitæ extremum inter Munera ponat Naturæ.* It is as Naturall to die, as to be borne; And to a little Infant, perhaps, the one, is as painfull, as the other. He that dies in an earnest Pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot Bloud; who, for the time, scarce feeles the Hurt; And therefore, a Minde fixt, and bent upon somewhat, that is good, doth avert the Dolors of *Death:* But above all, beleeve it, the sweetest Canticle is, *Nunc dimittis;* when a Man hath obtained worthy Ends, and Expectations. *Death* hath this also; That it openeth the Gate, to good Fame, and extinguisheth Envie.

—— *Extinctus amabitur idem.*

III

Of Unity in Religion

RELIGION being the chiefe Band, of humane Society, it is a happy thing, when it selfe, is well contained, within the true Band of *Unity*. The Quarrels, and Divisions about *Religion*, were Evils unknowne to the Heathen. The Reason was, because the *Religion* of the Heathen, consisted rather in Rites and Ceremonies; then in any constant Beleefe. For you may imagine, what kinde of Faith theirs was, when the chiefe Doctors, and Fathers of their Church, were the Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, That he is a *Jealous God*; And therefore, his Worship and *Religion*, will endure no Mixture, nor Partner. We shall therefore speake, a few words, concerning the *Unity* of the *Church*; *What are the Fruits thereof; what the Bounds; And what the Meanes?*

The Fruits of Unity (next unto the well Pleasing of God, which is All in All) are two; The One, towards those, that are *without the Church;* The Other, towards those, *that are within*. For the Former; It is certaine, that Heresies, and Schismes, are of all others, the greatest Scandals; yea more then Corruption of

Manners. For as in the Naturall Body, a Wound or Solution of Continuity, is worse then a Corrupt Humor; So in the Spirituall. So that nothing, doth so much keepe Men out of the Church, and drive Men out of the Church, as Breach of *Unity:* And therefore, whensoever it commeth to that passe, that one saith, *Ecce in Deserto;* Another saith, *Ecce in penetralibus;* That is, when some Men seeke Christ, in the Conventicles of Heretikes, and others, in an Outward Face of a Church, that voice had need continually to sound in Mens Eares, *Nolite exire, Goe not out.* The Doctor of the Gentiles (the Propriety of whose Vocation, drew him to have a speciall care of those *without*) saith; *If an Heathen come in, and heare you speake with severall Tongues, Will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly, it is little better, when Atheists, and prophane Persons, do heare of so many Discordant, and Contrary Opinions in *Religion;* It doth avert them from the Church, and maketh them, *To sit downe in the chaire of the Scorners.* It is but a light Thing, to be Vouched in so Serious a Matter, but yet it expresseth well the Deformity. There is a Master of Scoffing; that in his Catalogue of Books, of a faigned Library, sets Downe this Title of a Booke; *The morris daunce of Heretikes.* For indeed, every Sect of them, hath a Divers Posture, or Cringe by themselves, which cannot but Move Derision, in Worldlings, and Depraved Politickes, who are apt to contemne Holy Things.

As for the *Fruit towards those that are within;* It is *Peace;* which containeth infinite

Blessings: It establisheth Faith; It kindleth Charity; The outward Peace of the Church, Distilleth into Peace of Conscience; And it turneth the Labours, of Writing, and Reading of Controversies, into Treaties of Mortification, and Devotion.

Concerning the *Bounds of Unity;* The true Placing of them, importeth exceedingly. There appeare to be two extremes. For to certaine *Zelants* all Speech of Pacification is odious. *Is it peace, Iehu? What hast thou to doe with peace? turne thee behinde me. Peace* is not the Matter, but *Following* and *Party*. Contrariwise, certaine *Laodiceans*, and Luke-warme Persons, thinke they may accommodate Points of *Religion*, by Middle Waies, and taking part of both; And witty Reconcilements; As if they would make an Arbitrement, betweene God and Man. Both these Extremes are to be avoyded; which will be done, if the League of Christians, penned by our Saviour himselfe, were in the two crosse Clauses thereof, soundly and plainly expounded; *He that is not with us, is against us:* And againe; *He that is not against us, is with us:* That is, if the Points Fundamentall and of Substance in *Religion*, were truly discerned and distinguished, from Points not meerely of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention. This is a Thing, may seeme to many, a Matter triviall, and done already: But if it were done lesse partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give onely this Advice, according to my small Modell. Men ought to take heede, of rending Gods Church, by two kinds of

Controversies. The one is, when the Matter of the Point controverted, is too small and light, not worth the Heat, and Strife about it, kindled onely by Contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers; *Christs Coat, indeed, had no seame: But the Churches Vesture was of divers colours;* whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas sit, Scissura non sit;* They be two Things, *Unity,* and *Uniformity.* The other is, when the Matter of the Point Controverted is great; but it is driven to an over-great Subtilty, and Obscurity; So that it becommeth a Thing, rather Ingenious, then Substantiall. A man that is of Iudgement and understanding, shall sometimes heare Ignorant Men differ, and know well within himselfe, that those which so differ, meane one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to passe, in that distance of Iudgement, which is betweene Man and Man; Shall wee not thinke, that God above, that knowes the Heart, doth not discerne, that fraile Men, in some of their Contradictions, intend the same thing; and accepteth of both? The Nature of such Controversies is excellently expressed, by S^t^. *Paul,* in the Warning and Precept, that he giveth, concerning the same, *Devita profanas vocum Novitates, & Oppositiones falsi Nominis Scientiæ.* Men create Oppositions, which are not; And put them into new termes, so fixed, as whereas the Meaning ought to governe the Terme, the Terme in effect governeth the Meaning. There be also two false *Peaces,* or *Unities;* The one, when the Peace is grounded, but upon an implicite ignorance; For all Colours will agree in the Darke:

The other, when it is peeced up, upon a direct Admission of Contraries, in Fundamentall Points. For Truth and Falshood, in such things, are like the *Iron* and *Clay, in the toes of Nabucadnezar's Image;* They may Cleave, but they will not Incorporate.

Concerning the *Meanes of procuring Unity;* Men must beware, that in the Procuring, or Muniting, of *Religious Unity,* they doe not Dissolve and Deface the Lawes of Charity, and of humane Society. There be two Swords amongst Christians; the Spirituall, and Temporall; And both have their due Office, and place, in the maintenance of *Religion.* But we may not take up the Third sword, which is Mahomets Sword, or like unto it; That is, to propagate *Religion,* by Warrs, or by Sanguinary Persecutions, to force Consciences; except it be in cases of Overt Scandall, Blasphemy, or Intermixture of Practize, against the State; Much lesse to Nourish Seditions; To Authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions; To put the Sword into the Peoples Hands; And the like; Tending to the Subversion of all Government, which is the Ordinance of God. For this is, but to dash the first Table, against the Second; And so to consider Men as Christians, as we forget that they are Men. *Lucretius* the Poet, when he beheld the Act of *Agamemnon,* that could endure the Sacrificing of his owne Daughter, exclaimed;

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum.

What would he have said, if he had knowne of the Massacre in France, or the Powder Treason

of England? He would have beene, Seven times more Epicure and Atheist, then he was. For as the temporall Sword, is to bee drawne, with great circumspection, in Cases of *Religion;* So it is a thing monstrous, to put it into the hands of the Common People. Let that bee left unto the Anabaptists, and other Furies. It was great Blasphemy, when the Devill said; *I will ascend, and be like the Highest;* But it is greater Blasphemy, to personate God, and bring him in saying; *I will descend, and be like the Prince of Darknesse;* And what is it better, to make the cause of *Religion*, to descend, to the cruell and execrable Actions, of Murthering Princes, Butchery of People, and Subversion of States, and Governments? Surely, this is to bring Downe the Holy Ghost, in stead of the Liknesse of a Dove, in the Shape of a Vulture, or Raven: And to set, out of the Barke of a Christian Church, a Flagge of a Barque of Pirats, and *Assassins*. Therfore it is most necessary, that the Church by Doctrine and Decree; Princes by their Sword; And all Learnings, both Christian and Morall, as by their Mercury Rod; Doe Damne and send to Hell, for ever, those Facts and Opinions, tending to the Support of the same; As hath beene already in good part done. Surely in Counsels, Concerning *Religion*, that Counsel of the Apostle would be prefixed; *Ira hominis non implet Iusticiam Dei.* And it was a notable Observation, of a wise Father, And no lesse ingenuously confessed; *That those, which held and perswaded, pressure of Consciences, were commonly interessed therin, themselves, for their owne ends.*

IV

Of Revenge

REVENGE is a kinde of Wilde Iustice; which the more Mans Nature runs to, the more ought Law to weed it out. For as for the first Wrong, it doth but offend the Law; but the *Revenge* of that wrong, putteth the Law out of Office. Certainly, in taking *Revenge*, A Man is but even with his Enemy; But in passing it over, he is Superiour: For it is a Princes part to Pardon. And *Salomon*, I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a Man to passe by an offence.* That which is past, is gone, and Irrevocable; And wise Men have Enough to doe, with things present, and to come: Therefore, they doe but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no man, doth a wrong, for the wrongs sake; But therby to purchase himselfe, Profit, or Pleasure, or Honour, or the like. Therfore why should I be angry with a Man, for loving himselfe better then mee? And if any Man should doe wrong, meerely out of ill nature, why? yet it is but like the Thorn, or Bryar, which prick, and scratch, because they can doe no

other. The most Tolerable Sort of *Revenge*, is for those wrongs which there is no Law to remedy: But then, let a man take heed, the *Revenge* be such, as there is no law to punish: Else, a Mans Enemy, is still before hand, And it is two for one. Some, when they take *Revenge*, are Desirous the party should know, whence it commeth: This is the more Generous. For the Delight seemeth to be, not so much in doing the Hurt, as in Making the Party repent: But Base and Crafty Cowards, are like the Arrow, that flyeth in the Darke. *Cosmus* Duke of *Florence*, had a Desperate Saying, against Perfidious or Neglecting Friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable: *You shall reade* (saith he) *that wee are commanded to forgive our Enemies; But you never read, that wee are commanded, to forgive our Friends.* But yet the Spirit of *Iob*, was in a better tune; *Shall wee* (saith he) *take good at Gods Hands, and not be content to take evill also?* And so of Friends in a proportion. This is certaine; That a Man that studieth *Revenge*, keepes his owne Wounds greene, which otherwise would heale, and doe well. Publique *Revenges*, are, for the most part, Fortunate; As that for the Death of *Cæsar;* For the Death of *Pertinax;* for the Death of *Henry* the Third of France; And many more. But in private *Revenges* it is not so. Nay rather, Vindicative Persons live the Life of Witches; who as they are Mischievous, So end they Infortunate.

V

Of Adversitie

IT was an high speech of *Seneca*, (after the manner of the Stoickes) *That the good things, which belong to Prosperity, are to be wished; but the good things, that belong to Adversity, are to be admired. Bona Rerum Secundarum, Optabilia; Adversarum, Mirabilia.* Certainly if Miracles, be the Command over Nature, they appeare most in Adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his, then the other, (much too high for a Heathen) *It is true greatnesse, to have in one, the Frailty of a Man, & the Security of a God. Verè magnum, habere Fragilitatem Hominis, Securitatem Dei.* This would have done better in Poesy; where Transcendences are more allowed. And the Poets indeed, have beene busy with it; For it is, in effect, the thing, which is figured in that Strange Fiction, of the Ancient Poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; Nay, and to have some approach, to the State of a Christian: That *Hercules, when hee went to unbinde Prometheus,* (by whom Humane Nature is represented) *sailed the length of the great*

Ocean, in an Earthen Pot, or Pitcher: Lively describing Christian Resolution; that saileth, in the fraile Barke of the Flesh, thorow the Waves of the World. But to speake in a Meane. The Vertue of *Prosperitie*, is Temperance; The Vertue of *Adversity*, is Fortitude: which in Morals is the more Heroicall Vertue. *Prosperity* is the Blessing of the Old Testament; *Adversity* is the Blessing of the New; which carrieth the greater Benediction, and the Clearer Revelation of Gods Favour. Yet, even in the old Testament, if you Listen to *Davids* Harpe, you shall heare as many Herselike Ayres, as Carols: And the Pencill of the holy Ghost, hath laboured more, in describing, the Afflictions of *Iob*, then the Felicities of *Salomon*. *Prosperity* is not without many Feares and Distastes; And *Adversity* is not without Comforts and Hopes. Wee see in Needle-workes, and Imbroideries, It is more pleasing, to have a Lively Worke, upon a Sad and Solemne Ground; then to have a Darke and Melancholy Worke, upon a Lightsome Ground: Iudge therfore, of the Pleasure of the Heart, by the Pleasure of the Eye. Certainly, Vertue is like pretious Odours, most fragrant, when they are incensed, or crushed: For *Prosperity* doth best discover Vice; But *Adversity* doth best discover Vertue.

VI

Of Simulation and Dissimulation

DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of Policy, or Wisdome; For it asketh a strong Wit, and a strong Heart, to know, when to tell Truth, and to doe it. Therfore it is the weaker Sort of Politicks, that are the great Dissemblers.

Tacitus saith; *Livia sorted well, with the Arts of her Husband, & Dissimulation of her Sonne:* Attributing *Arts* or *Policy* to *Augustus*, and *Dissimulation* to *Tiberius*. And againe, when *Mucianus* encourageth *Vespasian*, to take Arms against *Vitellius*, he saith; *We rise not, against the Piercing Iudgment of Augustus, nor the Extreme Caution or Closenesse of Tiberius.* These Properties of *Arts* or *Policy*, and *Dissimulation* or *Closenesse*, are indeed Habits and Faculties, severall, and to be distinguished. For if a Man, have that Penetration of Iudgment, as he can discerne, what Things are to be laid open, and what to be secretted, and what to be shewed at Halfe lights, and to whom, and when, (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life, as *Tacitus* well calleth them) to him, A

Habit of *Dissimulation*, is a Hinderance, and a Poorenesse. But if a Man cannot obtaine to that Judgment, then it is left to him, generally, to be Close, and a *Dissembler*. For where a Man cannot choose, or vary in Particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest Way in generall; Like the Going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest Men, that ever were, have had all an Opennesse, and Francknesse of dealing; And a name of Certainty, and Veracity; But then they were like Horses, well mannaged; For they could tell passing well, when to stop, or turne: And at such times, when they thought the Case indeed, required *Dissimulation*, if then they used it, it came to passe, that the former Opinion, spred abroad of their good Faith, and Clearnesse of dealing, made them almost Invisible.

There be three degrees, of this Hiding, and Vailing of a Mans Selfe. The first *Closenesse, Reservation*, and *Secrecy;* when a Man leaveth himselfe without Observation, or without Hold to be taken, what he is. The second *Dissimulation*, in the *Negative;* when a man lets fall Signes, and Arguments, that he is not, that he is. And the third *Simulation*, in the Affirmative; when a Man industriously, and expressely, faigns, and pretends to be, that he is not.

For the first of these, *Secrecy:* It is indeed, the Vertue of a Confessour; And assuredly, the *Secret* Man, heareth many Confessions; For who will open himselfe, to a Blab or a Babler? But if a Man be thought *Secret*, it inviteth Discoverie; As the more Close Aire, sucketh in the

more Open: And as in Confession, the Revealing is not for worldly use, but for the Ease of a Mans Heart, so *Secret* Men come to the Knowledge of Many Things, in that kinde; while Men rather discharge their Mindes, then impart their Mindes. In few words, Mysteries are due to *Secrecy*. Besides (to say Truth) *Nakednesse* is uncomely, as well in Minde, as Body; and it addeth no small Reverence, to Mens Manners, and Actions, if they be not altogether Open. As for Talkers and Futile Persons, they are commonly Vaine, and Credulous withall. For He that talketh, what he knoweth, will also talke, what he knoweth not. Therfore set it downe: *That an Habit of Secrecy, is both Politick, and Morall.* And in this Part, it is good, that a Mans Face, give his Tongue, leave to Speake. For the Discovery, of a Mans Selfe, by the Tracts of his Countenance, is a great Weaknesse, and Betraying; By how much, it is many times, more marked and beleeved, then a Mans words.

For the Second, which is *Dissimulation*. It followeth many times upon *Secrecy*, by a necessity: So that, he that will be *Secret*, must be a *Dissembler*, in some degree. For Men are too cunning, to suffer a Man, to keepe an indifferent carriage, betweene both, and to be *Secret*, without Swaying the Ballance, on either side. They will so beset a man with Questions, and draw him on, and picke it out of him, that without an absurd Silence, he must shew an Inclination, one way; Or if he doe not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech. As for Equivocations, or Oraculous Speeches, they

cannot hold out long. So that no man can be *secret*, except he give himselfe a little Scope of *Dissimulation;* which is, as it were, but the Skirts or Traine of *Secrecy*.

But for the third Degree, which is *Simulation*, and false Profession; That I hold more culpable, and lesse politicke; except it be in great and rare Matters. And therefore a generall Custome of *Simulation* (which is this last Degree) is a Vice, rising, either of a naturall Falsenesse, or Fearefulnesse; Or of a Minde, that hath some maine Faults; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise *Simulation*, in other things, lest his Hand should be out of ure.

The great *Advantages* of *Simulation* and *Dissimulation* are three. First to lay asleepe Opposition, and to Surprize. For where a Mans Intentions, are published, it is an Alarum, to call up, all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a Mans Selfe, a faire Retreat: For if a man engage himselfe, by a manifest Declaration, he must goe through, or take a Fall. The third is, the better to discover the Minde of another. For to him that opens himselfe, Men will hardly shew themselves adverse; but will (faire) let him goe on, and turne their Freedome of Speech, to Freedome of thought. And therefore, it is a good shrewd Proverbe of the Spaniard; *Tell a lye, and finde a Troth.* As if there were no way of Discovery, but by *Simulation*. There be also three *Disadvantages*, to set it even. The first, That *Simulation* and *Dissimulation*, commonly carry with them, a Shew of

Fearfulnesse, which in any Businesse, doth spoile the Feathers, of round flying up to the Mark. The second, that it pusleth & perplexeth the Conceits of many; that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him; and makes a Man walke, almost alone, to his owne Ends. The third, and greatest is, that it depriveth a Man, of one, of the most principall Instruments for Action; which is *Trust* and *Beleefe*. The best Composition, and Temperature is, to have *Opennesse* in Fame and Opinion; *Secrecy* in Habit; *Dissimulation* in seasonable use; And a Power to faigne, if there be no Remedy.

VII

Of Parents and Children

THE Ioyes of *Parents* are Secret; And so are their Griefes, and Feares: They cannot utter the one; Nor they will not utter the other. *Children* sweeten Labours; But they make Misfortunes more bitter: They increase the Cares of Life; but they mitigate the Remembrance of Death. The Perpetuity by Generation is common to Beasts; But Memory, Merit, and Noble workes, are proper to Men: And surely a Man shall see, the Noblest workes, and Foundations, have proceeded from *Childlesse Men*; which have sought to expresse the Images of their Minds; where those of their Bodies have failed: So the care of Posterity, is most in them, that have no Posterity. They that are the first Raisers of their Houses, are most Indulgent towards their *Children*; Beholding them, as the Continuance, not only of their kinde, but of their Worke; And so both *Children*, and *Creatures*.

The difference in Affection, of *Parents*, towards their severall *Children*, is many times unequall; And sometimes unworthy; Especially

in the *mother;* As Salomon saith; *A wise sonne reioyceth the Father; but an ungracious sonne shames the Mother.* A Man shall see, where there is a House full of *Children*, one or Two, of the Eldest, respected, and the Youngest made wantons; But in the middest, some that are, as it were forgotten, who, many times, neverthelesse, prove the best. The Illiberalitie of *Parents*, in allowance towards their *Children*, is an harmefull Errour; Makes them base; Acquaints them with Shifts; Makes them sort with meane Company; And makes them surfet more, when they come to Plenty: And therefore, the Proofe is best, when Men keepe their Authority towards their *Children*, but not their Purse. Men have a foolish manner (both *Parents*, and Schoolemasters, and Servants) in creating and breeding an Emulation between Brothers, during *Childhood*, which many times sorteth to Discord, when they are Men; And disturbeth Families. The *Italians* make little difference betweene *Children*, and Nephewes, or neere Kinsfolkes; But so they be of the Lumpe, they care not, though they passe not through their owne Body. And, to say Truth, in Nature, it is much a like matter; In so much, that we see a Nephew, sometimes, resembleth an Uncle, or a Kinsman, more then his owne *Parent;* As the Bloud happens. Let *Parents* choose betimes, the Vocations, and Courses, they meane their Children should take; For then they are most flexible; And let them not too much apply themselves, to the Disposition of their *Children*, as thinking they will take best to that, which they have

most Minde to. It is true, that if the Affection or Aptnesse of the *Children*, be Extraordinary, then it is good, not to crosse it; But generally, the Precept is good; *Optimum elige, suave & facile illud faciet Consuetudo.* *Younger Brothers* are commonly Fortunate, but seldome or never, where the *Elder* are disinherited.

She thinke her *Husband* Wise; which She will never doe, if She finde him *Iealous.* *Wives* are young Mens Mistresses; Companions for middle Age; and old Mens Nurses. So as a Man may have a Quarrell to marry, when he will. But yet, he was reputed one of the wise Men, that made Answer to the Question; When a Man should marry? *A young Man not yet, an Elder Man not at all.* It is often seene, that bad *Husbands*, have very good *Wives*; whether it be, that it rayseth the Price of their *Husbands* Kindnesse, when it comes; Or that the *Wives* take a Pride, in their Patience. But this never failes, if the bad *Husbands* were of their owne choosing, against their Friends consent; For then, they will be sure, to make good their owne Folly.

IX

Of Envy

THERE be none of the *Affections*, which have beene noted to fascinate, or bewitch, but *Love*, and *Envy*. They both have vehement wishes; They frame themselves readily into Imaginations, and Suggestions; And they come easily into the Eye; especially upon the presence of the Obiects; which are the Points, that conduce to Fascination, if any such Thing there be. We see likewise, the Scripture calleth *Envy*, An *Evill Eye:* And the Astrologers, call the evill Influences of the Starrs, *Evill Aspects;* So that still, there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the Act of *Envy*, an Eiaculation, or Irradiation of the Eye. Nay some have beene so curious, as to note, that the Times, when the Stroke, or Percussion of an *Envious Eye* doth most hurt, are, when the *Party envied* is beheld in Glory, or Triumph; For that sets an Edge upon *Envy;* And besides, at such times, the Spirits of the *person Envied*, doe come forth, most into the outward Parts, and so meet the Blow.

But leaving these Curiosities, (though not

unworthy, to be thought on, in fit place,) wee will handle, what *Persons are apt to Envy others; What persons are most Subiect to be Envied themselves;* And, *What is the Difference betweeen Publique, and private Envy.*

A man, that hath no vertue in himselfe, ever *envieth* Vertue in others. For Mens Mindes, will either feed upon their owne Good, or upon others Evill; And who wanteth the one, wil prey upon the other; And who so is out of Hope to attaine to anothers Vertue, will seeke to come at even hand, by Depressing an others Fortune.

A man that is Busy, and Inquisitive, is commonly *Envious:* For to know much of other Mens Matters, cannot be, because all that Adoe may concerne his owne Estate: Therfore it must needs be, that he taketh a kinde of plaie-pleasure, in looking upon the Fortunes of others; Neither can he, that mindeth but his own Businesse, finde much matter for *Envy.* For *Envy* is a Gadding Passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keepe home; *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.*

Men of Noble birth, are noted, to be *envious* towards New Men, when they rise. For the distance is altered; And it is like a deceipt of the Eye, that when others come on, they thinke themselves goe backe.

Deformed Persons, and Eunuches, and Old Men, and Bastards, are *Envious:* For he that cannot possibly mend his owne case, will doe what he can to impaire anothers; Except these Defects light, upon a very brave, and Heroicall Nature; which thinketh to make his Naturall

Wants, part of his Honour: In that it should be said, that an Eunuch, or a Lame Man, did such great Matters; Affecting the Honour of a Miracle; as it was in *Narses* the Eunuch, and *Agesilaus*, and *Tamberlanes*, that were Lame men.

The same, is the Case of Men, that rise after Calamities, and Misfortunes; For they are, as Men fallen out with the times; And thinke other Mens Harmes, a Redemption, of their owne Sufferings.

They, that desire to excell in too many Matters, out of Levity, and Vaine glory, are ever *Envious;* For they cannot want worke; It being impossible, but many, in some one of those Things, should surpasse them. Which was the Character of *Adrian* the Emperour, that mortally *Envied Poets*, and *Painters*, and *Artificers*, in Works, wherein he had a veine to excell.

Lastly, neare Kinsfolks, and Fellowes in Office, and those that have beene bred together, are more apt to *Envy* their Equals, when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them, their owne Fortunes; And pointeth at them, and commeth oftner into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others: And *Envy* ever redoubleth from Speech and Fame. *Cains Envy*, was the more vile, and Malignant, towards his brother *Abel;* Because, when his Sacrifice was better accepted, there was no Body to looke on. Thus much for *those that are apt to Envy*.

Concerning *those that are more or lesse subiect to Envy:* First, Persons of eminent Vertue, when they are advanced, are lesse *envied*. For

their Fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man *Envieth* the Payment of a Debt, but Rewards, and Liberality rather. Againe, *Envy* is ever ioyned, with the Comparing of a Mans Selfe; And where there is no Comparison, no *Envy;* And therfore Kings, are not *envied*, but by Kings. Neverthelesse, it is to be noted, that unworthy Persons, are most *envied*, at their first comming in, and afterwards overcome it better; wheras contrariwise, Persons of Worth, and Merit, are most *envied*, when their Fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their Vertue be the same, yet it hath not the same *Lustre;* For fresh Men grow up, that darken it.

Persons of Noble Bloud, are lesse *envied*, in their Rising: For it seemeth, but Right, done to their Birth. Besides, there seemeth not much added to their Fortune; And *Envy* is as the Sunne Beames, that beat hotter, upon a Bank or steepe rising Ground; then upon a Flat. And for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees, are lesse *envied*, then those that are advanced suddainly, and *per saltum.*

Those that have ioyned with their Honour, great Travels, Cares, or Perills, are lesse subiect to *Envy.* For Men thinke, that they earne their Honours hardly, and pitty them sometimes; And *Pitty*, ever healeth *Envy:* Wherefore, you shall observe that the more deepe, and sober sort of Politique persons, in their Greatnesse, are ever bemoaning themselves, what a Life they lead; Chanting a *Quanta patimur.* Not that they feele it so, but onely to abate the Edge of *Envy.* But this is to be understood, of

Businesse, that is laid upon Men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For Nothing increaseth *Envy* more, then an unnecessary, and Ambitious Ingrossing of Businesse. And nothing doth extinguish *Envy* more, then for a great Person, to preserve all other inferiour Officers, in their full Rights, and Preheminences, of their Places. For by that meanes, there be so many Skreenes betweene him, and *Envy*.

Above all, those are most subiect to *Envy*, which carry the Greatnesse of their Fortunes, in an insolent and proud Manner: Being never well, but while they are shewing, how great they are, Either by outward Pompe, or by Triumphing over all Opposition, or Competition; whereas Wise men will rather doe sacrifice to *Envy;* in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose to be crost, and overborne in things, that doe not much concerne them. Notwithstanding, so much is true; That the Carriage of Greatnesse, in a plaine and open manner (so it be without Arrogancy, and Vaine glory) doth draw lesse *Envy*, then if it be in a more crafty, and cunning fashion. For in that course, a Man doth but disavow Fortune; And seemeth to be conscious, of his owne want in worth; And doth but teach others to *Envy* him.

Lastly, to conclude this Part; As we said in the beginning, that the Act of *Envy*, had somewhat in it, of *Witchcraft;* so there is no other Cure of *Envy*, but the cure of *Witchcraft:* And that is, to remove the *Lot* (as they call it) & to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser Sort of great Persons, bring in ever upon

the Stage, some Body, upon whom to derive the *Envie*, that would come upon themselves; Sometimes upon Ministers, and Servants; Sometimes upon Colleagues and Associates; and the like; And for that turne, there are never wanting, some Persons of violent and undertaking Natures, who so they may have Power, and Businesse, will take it at any Cost.

Now to speake of Publique *Envy*. There is yet some good in *Publique Envy;* whereas in *Private*, there is none. For *Publique Envy* is as an *Ostracisme*, that eclipseth Men, when they grow too great. And therefore it is a Bridle also to Great Ones, to keepe them within Bounds.

This *Envy*, being in the Latine word *Invidia*, goeth in the Moderne languages, by the name of *Discontentment:* Of which we shall speake in handling *Sedition*. It is a disease, in a State, like to Infection. For as Infection, spreadeth upon that, which is sound, and tainteth it; So when *Envy*, is gotten once into a State, it traduceth even the best Actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill Odour. And therefore, there is little won by intermingling of plausible Actions. For that doth argue, but a Weaknesse, and Feare of *Envy*, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usuall in *Infections;* which if you feare them, you call them upon you.

This publique *Envy*, seemeth to beat chiefly, upon principall Officers, or Ministers, rather then upon Kings, & Estates themselves. But this is a sure Rule, that if the *Envy* upon the

Minister, be great, when the cause of it, in him, is smal; or if the *Envy* be generall, in a manner, upon all the Ministers of an Estate; then the *Envy* (though hidden) is truly upon the State it selfe. And so much of *publike envy* or *discontentment*, & the difference therof from *Private Envy*, which was handled in the first place.

We will adde this, in generall, touching the Affection of *Envy*; that of all other Affections, it is the most importune; and continuall. For of other *Affections*, there is occasion given, but now and then: And therefore, it was well said, *Invidia festos dies non agit.* For it is ever working upon some, or other. And it is also noted, that *Love* and *Envy*, doe make a man pine, which other Affections doe not; because they are not so continuall. It is also the vilest Affection, and the most depraved; For which cause, it is the proper Attribute, of the Devill, who is called; *The Envious Man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night.* As it alwayes commeth to passe, that *Envy* worketh subtilly, and in the darke; And to the preiudice of good things, such as is the *Wheat.*

X

Of Love

THE Stage is more beholding to *Love*, then the Life of Man. For as to the Stage, *Love* is ever matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies: But in Life, it doth much mischiefe: Sometimes like a *Syren;* Sometimes like a *Fury.* You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy Persons, (whereof the memory remaineth, either Ancient or Recent) there is not One, that hath beene transported, to the mad degree of *Love:* which shewes, that great Spirits, and great Businesse, doe keepe out this weake Passion. You must except, neverthelesse, *Marcus Antonius* the halfe Partner of the Empire of *Rome;* and *Appius Claudius* the *Decemvir*, and Law-giver: Whereof the former, was indeed a Voluptuous Man, and Inordinate; but the latter, was an Austere, and wise man: And therefore it seemes (though rarely) that *Love* can finde entrance, not only into an open Heart; but also into a Heart well fortified; if watch be not well kept. It is a poore Saying of *Epicurus; Satis magnum Alter Alteri Thea-*

trum sumus: As if Man, made for the contemplation of Heaven, and all Noble Obiects, should doe nothing, but kneele before a little Idoll, and make himselfe subiect, though not of the Mouth (as Beasts are) yet of the Eye; which was given him for higher Purposes. It is a strange Thing, to note the Excesse of this Passion; And how it braves, the Nature, and value of things; by this, that the Speaking in a perpetuall *Hyperbole*, is comely in nothing, but in *Love*. Neither is it meerely in the Phrase; For whereas it hath beene well said, that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers have Intelligence, is a Mans Selfe; Certainly, the *Lover* is more. For there was never Proud Man, thought so absurdly well of himselfe, as the *Lover* doth of the Person *loved:* And therefore, it was well said; *That it is impossible to love, and to be wise.* Neither doth this weaknesse appeare to others onely, and not to the Party *Loved;* But to the *Loved*, most of all: except the *Love* be reciproque. For, it is a true Rule, that *Love* is ever rewarded, either with the Reciproque, or with an inward, and secret Contempt. By how much the more, Men ought to beware of this Passion, which loseth not only other things, but it selfe. As for the other losses, the Poets Relation, doth well figure them; That he that preferred *Helena*, quitted the Gifts of *Iuno*, and *Pallas*. For whosoever esteemeth too much of Amorous Affection, quitteth both *Riches*, and *Wisedome*. This Passion, hath his Flouds, in the very times of Weaknesse; which are, great *Prosperitie;* and great *Adversitie;* though this latter hath beene

lesse observed. Both which times kindle *Love*, and make it more fervent, and therefore shew it to be the Childe of Folly. They doe best, who, if they cannot but admit *Love*, yet make it keepe Quarter: And sever it wholly, from their serious Affaires, and Actions of life: For if it checke once with Businesse, it troubleth Mens Fortunes, and maketh Men, that they can, no wayes be true, to their owne Ends. I know not how, but Martiall Men, are given to *Love*: I thinke it is, but as they are given to *Wine*; For *Perils*, commonly aske, to be paid in *Pleasures*. There is in Mans Nature, a secret Inclination, and Motion, towards *love* of others; which, if it be not spent, upon some one, or a few, doth naturally spread it selfe, towards many; and maketh men become Humane, and Charitable; As it is seene sometime in Friars. Nuptiall *love* maketh Mankinde; Friendly *love* perfecteth it; but Wanton *love* Corrupteth, and Imbaseth it.

XI

Of Great Place

MEN in *Great Place*, are thrice *Servants:* Servants of the Soveraigne or State; Servants of Fame; and Servants of Businesse. So as they have no Freedome; neither in their Persons; nor in their Actions; nor in their Times. It is a strange desire, to seeke Power, and to lose Libertie; Or to seeke Power over others, and to loose Power over a Mans Selfe. The Rising unto *Place* is Laborious; And by Paines Men come to greater Paines; And it is sometimes base; And by Indignities, Men come to Dignities. The standing is slippery, and the Regresse, is either a downefall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a Melancholy Thing. *Cùm non sis, qui fueris, non esse, cur velis vivere.* Nay, retire Men cannot, when they would; neither will they, when it were Reason: But are impatient of privatenesse, even in Age, and Sicknesse, which require the Shadow: Like old Townesmen, that will be still sitting at their Street doore; though thereby they offer Age to Scorne. Certainly Great Persons, had need to

borrow other Mens Opinions; to thinke themselves happy; For if they iudge by their owne Feeling; they cannot finde it: But if they thinke with themselves, what other men thinke of them, and that other men would faine be as they are, then they are happy, as it were by report; When perhaps they finde the Contrary within. For they are the first, that finde their owne Griefs; though they be the last, that finde their owne Faults. Certainly, Men in Great Fortunes, are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the pusle of businesse, they have no time to tend their Health, either of Body, or Minde. *Illi Mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* In *Place*, There is License to doe Good, and Evill; wherof the latter is a Curse; For in Evill, the best condition is, not to will; The Second, not to Can. But Power to doe good, is the true and lawfull End of Aspiring. For good Thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards men, are little better then good Dreames; Except they be put in Act; And that cannot be without Power, and Place; As the Vantage, and Commanding Ground. Merit, and good Works, is the End of Mans Motion; And Conscience of the same, is the Accomplishment of Mans Rest. For if a Man, can be Partaker of Gods Theater, he shall likewise be Partaker of Gods Rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret Opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;* And then the Sabbath. In the Discharge of thy *Place*, set before thee the best Examples; For Imitation, is a Globe of Precepts. And after

a time, set before thee, thine owne Example; And examine thy selfe strictly, whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the Examples of those, that have carried themselves ill, in the same *Place:* Not to set off thy selfe, by taxing their Memory; but to direct thy selfe, what to avoid. Reforme therfore, without Braverie, or Scandall, of former Times, and Persons; but yet set it downe to thy selfe, as well to create good Presidents, as to follow them. Reduce things, to the first Institution, and observe, wherin, and how, they have degenerate; but yet aske Counsell of both Times; Of the Ancient Time, what is best; and of the Latter Time, what is fittest. Seeke to make thy Course Regular; that Men may know before hand what they may expect: But be not too positive, and peremptorie; And expresse thy selfe well, when thou digressest from thy Rule. Preserve the Right of thy *Place;* but stirre not questions of Iurisdiction: And rather assume thy Right, in Silence, and *de facto*, then voice it, with Claimes, and Challenges. Preserve likewise, the Rights of Inferiour *Places;* And thinke it more Honour to direct in chiefe, then to be busie in all. Embrace, and invite Helps, and Advices, touching the Execution of thy Place; And doe not drive away such, as bring thee Information, as Medlers; but accept of them in good part. The vices of *Authoritie* are chiefly foure: *Delaies; Corruption; Roughnesse;* and *Facilitie.* For *Delaies;* Give easie Accesse; Keepe times appointed; Goe through with that which is in hand; And interlace not businesse, but of ne-

cessitie. For *Corruption;* Doe not onely binde thine owne Hands, or thy Servants hands, from taking; but binde the hands of Sutours also from offring. For Integritie used doth the one; but Integritie professed, and with a manifest detestation of Bribery, doth the other. And avoid not onely the Fault, but the Suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly, without manifest Cause, giveth Suspicion of *Corruption.* Therefore, alwayes, when thou changest thine Opinion, or Course, professe it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reasons, that move thee to change; And doe not thinke to steale it. A Servant, or a Favorite, if hee be inward, and no other apparant Cause of Esteeme, is commonly thought but a By-way, to close *Corruption.* For *Roughnesse;* It is a needlesse cause of *Discontent: Severitie* breedeth Feare, but *Roughnesse* breedeth Hate. Even Reproofes from Authoritie, ought to be Grave, and not Taunting. As for *Facilitie;* It is worse then Bribery. For *Bribes* come but now and then; But if Importunitie, or Idle Respects lead a Man, he shall never be without. As *Salomon* saith; *To respect Persons, is not good; For such a man will transgresse for a peece of Bread.* It is most true, that was anciently spoken; *A place sheweth the Man:* And it sheweth some to the better, and some to the worse: *Omnium consensu, capax Imperij, nisi imperasset;* saith *Tacitus* of *Galba:* but of *Vespasian* he saith; *Solus Imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius.* Though the one was meant of Sufficiencie, the other of Manners, and Affection. It is an as-

sured Signe, of a worthy and generous Spirit, whom *Honour* amends. For *Honour* is, or should be, the Place of Vertue: And as in Nature, Things move violently to their Place, and calmely in their Place: So Vertue in Ambition is violent, in Authoritie setled and calme. All Rising to *Great Place*, is by a winding Staire: And if there be Factions, it is good, to side a Mans selfe, whilest hee is in the Rising; and to ballance Himselfe, when hee is placed. Use the Memory of thy Predecessour fairely, and tenderly; For if thou dost not, it is a Debt, will sure be paid, when thou art gone. If thou have Colleagues, respect them, and rather call them, when they looke not for it, then exclude them, when they have reason to looke to be called. Be not too sensible, or too remembring, of thy Place, in Conversation, and private Answers to Suitors; But let it rather be said; *When he sits in Place, he is another Man.*

XII

Of Boldnesse

IT is a triviall Grammar Schoole Text, but yet worthy a wise *Mans* Consideration. Question was asked of *Demosthenes; What was the Chiefe Part of an Oratour?* He answered, *Action;* what next? *Action;* what next again? *Action.* He said it, that knew it best; And had by nature, himselfe, no Advantage, in that he commended. A strange thing, that that Part of an Oratour, which is but superficiall, and rather the vertue of a Player; should be placed so high, above those other Noble Parts, of *Invention, Elocution,* and the rest: Nay almost alone, as if it were All in All. But the Reason is plaine. There is in Humane Nature, generally, more of the Foole, then of the Wise; And therfore those faculties, by which the Foolish part of Mens Mindes is taken, are most potent. Wonderfull like is the Case of *Boldnesse*, in Civill Businesse; What first? *Boldnesse;* What Second, and Third? *Boldnesse.* And yet *Boldnesse* is a Childe of Ignorance, and Basenesse, farre inferiour to other Parts. But neverthelesse,

it doth fascinate, and binde hand and foot, those, that are either shallow in Iudgment; or weake in Courage, which are the greatest Part; Yea and prevaileth with wise men, at weake times. Therfore, we see it hath done wonders, in Popular States; but with Senates and Princes lesse; And more ever upon the first entrance of *Bold Persons* into Action, then soone after; For *Boldnesse* is an ill keeper of promise. Surely, as there are *Mountebanques* for the Naturall Body: So are there *Mountebanques* for the Politique Body: Men that undertake great Cures; And perhaps have been Lucky, in two or three Experiments, but want the Grounds of Science; And therfore cannot hold out. Nay you shall see a *Bold Fellow*, many times, doe *Mahomets* Miracle. *Mahomet* made the People beleeve, that he would call an Hill to him; And from the Top of it, offer up his Praiers, for the Observers of his Law. The People assembled; *Mahomet* cald the Hill to come to him, againe, and againe; And when the Hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said; *If the Hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet wil go to the hil.* So these Men, when they have promised great Matters, and failed most shamefully, (yet if they have the perfection of *Boldnesse*) they will but slight it over, and make a turne, and no more adoe. Certainly, to Men of great Iudgment, *Bold* Persons, are a Sport to behold; Nay and to the Vulgar also, *Boldnesse* hath somewhat of the Ridiculous. For if Absurdity be the Subiect of Laughter, doubt you not, but great *Boldnesse* is seldome without some

Absurdity. Especially, it is a Sport to see, when a *Bold* Fellow is out of Countenance; For that puts his Face, into a most Shruncken, and woodden Posture; As needes it must; For in Bashfulnesse, the Spirits doe a little goe and come; but with *Bold* Men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; Like a Stale at Chesse, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot stirre. But this last, were fitter for a Satyre, then for a serious Observation. This is well to be weighed; That *Boldnesse* is ever blinde: For it seeth not dangers, and Inconveniences. Therfore, it is ill in Counsell, good in Execution: So that the right Use of *Bold* persons is, that they never Command in Chiefe, but be Seconds, and under the Direction of others. For in Counsell, it is good to see dangers; And in Execution, not to see them, except they be very great.

XIII

Of Goodnesse and Goodnesse of Nature

I TAKE *Goodnesse* in this Sense, the affecting of the Weale of Men, which is that the Grecians call *Philanthropia;* And the word *Humanitie* (as it is used) is a little too light, to expresse it. *Goodnesse* I call the Habit, and *Goodnesse of Nature* the Inclination. This of all Vertues, and Dignities of the Minde, is the greatest; being the Character of the Deitie: And without it, Man is a Busie, Mischievous, Wretched Thing; No better then a Kinde of Vermine. *Goodnesse* answers to the *Theologicall Vertue Charitie,* and admits no Excesse, but Errour. The desire of Power in Excesse, caused the Angels to fall; The desire of Knowledge in Excesse, caused Man to fall; But in *Charity,* there is no Excesse; Neither can Angell, or Man, come in danger by it. The Inclination to *Goodnesse,* is imprinted deepely in the Nature of Man: In so much, that if it issue not towards Men, it will take unto Other Living Creatures: As it is seen in the Turks, a Cruell People, who neverthelesse, are kinde to Beasts, and give

Almes to Dogs, and Birds: In so much, as *Busbechius* reporteth; A Christian Boy in *Constantinople*, had like to have been stoned, for gagging, in a waggishnesse, a long Billed Fowle. Errours, indeed, in this vertue of *Goodnesse*, or *Charity*, may be committed. The *Italians* have an ungracious Proverb; *Tanto buon che val niente: So good, that he is good for nothing.* And one of the Doctors of *Italy*, *Nicholas Macciavel*, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plaine Termes: *That the Christian Faith, had given up Good Men, in prey, to those, that are Tyrannicall, and uniust.* Which he spake, because indeed there was never Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did so much magnifie *Goodnesse*, as the Christian Religion doth. Therfore to avoid the Scandall, and the Danger both; it is good to take knowledge, of the Errours, of an Habit, so excellent. Seeke the Good of other Men, but be not in bondage, to their Faces, or Fancies; For that is but Facilitie, or Softnesse; which taketh an honest Minde Prisoner. Neither give thou *Æsops* Cocke a Gemme, who would be better pleased, and happier, if he had had a Barly Corne. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly: *He sendeth his Raine, and maketh his Sunne to shine, upon the Iust, and Uniust;* But hee doth not raine Wealth, nor shine Honour, and Vertues, upon Men equally. Common Benefits, are to be communicate with all; But peculiar Benefits, with choice. And beware, how in making the Portraiture, thou breakest the Patterne: For Divinitie maketh the Love of our Selves the Patterne;

The Love of our Neighbours but the Portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poore, and follow mee:* But sell not all thou hast, except thou come, and follow mee; That is, except thou have a Vocation, wherin thou maist doe as much good, with little meanes, as with great: For otherwise, in feeding the Streames, thou driest the Fountaine. Neither is there only a *Habit* of *Goodnesse*, directed by right Reason; but there is, in some Men, even in Nature, a Disposition towards it: As on the other side, there is a Naturall Malignitie. For there be, that in their Nature, doe not affect the Good of Others. The lighter Sort of Malignitie, turneth but to a Crosnesse, or Frowardnesse, or Aptnesse to oppose, or Difficilnesse, or the like; but the deeper Sort, to Envy, and meere Mischiefe. Such Men, in other mens Calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading Part; Not so good as the Dogs, that licked *Lazarus* Sores; but like Flies, that are still buzzing, upon any Thing that is raw; *Misanthropi*, that make it their Practise, to bring Men, to the Bough; And yet have never a Tree, for the purpose, in their Gardens, as *Timon* had. Such Dispositions, are the very Errours of Humane Nature: And yet they are the fittest Timber, to make great Politiques of: Like to knee Timber, that is good for Ships, that are ordained, to be tossed; But not for Building houses, that shall stand firme. The Parts and Signes of *Goodnesse* are many. If a Man be Gracious, and Curteous to Strangers, it shewes, he is a Citizen of the World; And that his Heart, is no Island, cut off from other Lands;

but a Continent, that ioynes to them. If he be Compassionate, towards the Afflictions of others, it shewes that his Heart is like the noble Tree, that is wounded it selfe, when it gives the Balme. If he easily Pardons and Remits Offences, it shews, that his Minde is planted above Iniuries; So that he cannot be shot. If he be Thankfull for small Benefits, it shewes, that he weighes Mens Mindes, and not their Trash. But above all, if he have *S*[t]. *Pauls* Perfection, that he would wish to be an *Anathema* from *Christ*, for the Salvation of his Brethren, it shewes much of a Divine Nature, and a kinde of Conformity with *Christ* himselfe.

XIIII

Of Nobility

WE will speake of *Nobility*, first as a *Portion* of an *Estate;* Then as a *Condition* of *Particular Persons.* A *Monarchy*, where there is no *Nobility* at all, is ever a pure, and absolute *Tyranny;* As that of the Turkes. For *Nobility* attempers *Soveraignty*, and drawes the Eyes of the People, somewhat aside from the *Line Royall.* But for *Democracies*, they need it not; And they are commonly, more quiet, and lesse subiect to Sedition, then where there are Stirps of *Nobles.* For Mens Eyes are upon the Businesse, and not upon the Persons: Or if upon the Persons, it is for the Businesse sake, as fittest, and not for Flags and Pedegree. Wee see the *Switzers* last well, notwithstanding their Diversitie of Religion, and of Cantons. For Utility is their Bond, and not Respects. The united Provinces of the Low Countries, in their Government, excell: For where there is an Equality, the Consultations are more indifferent, and the Payments and Tributes more cheerfull. A great and Potent *Nobility* addeth Maiestie to

a Monarch, but diminisheth Power; And putteth Life and Spirit into the People, but presseth their Fortune. It is well, when *Nobles* are not too great for Soveraignty, nor for Iustice; And yet maintained in that heigth, as the Insolencie of Inferiours, may be broken upon them, before it come on too fast upon the Maiesty of Kings. A Numerous *Nobility*, causeth Poverty, and Inconvenience in a State: For it is a Surcharge of Expence; And besides, it being of Necessity, that many of the Nobility, fall in time to be weake in Fortune, it maketh a kinde of Disproportion, betweene Honour and Meanes.

As for *Nobility* in *particular Persons*; It is a Reverend Thing, to see an Ancient Castle, or Building not in decay; Or to see a faire Timber Tree, sound and perfect: How much more, to behold an Ancient *Noble Family*, which hath stood against the Waves and weathers of Time. For new *Nobility* is but the Act of Power; But Ancient *Nobility* is the Act of Time. Those that are first raised to *Nobility*, are commonly more Vertuous, but lesse Innocent, then their Descendants: For there is, rarely, any Rising, but by a Commixture, of good and evill Arts. But it is Reason, the Memory of their vertues, remaine to their Posterity; And their Faults die with themselves. *Nobility* of *Birth*, commonly abateth Industry: And he that is not industrious, envieth him, that is. Besides, *Noble persons*, cannot goe much higher; And he that standeth at a stay, when others rise, can hardly avoid Motions of Envy. On the other side, *Nobility* extinguisheth the passive Envy, from others

towards them; Because they are in possession of Honour. Certainly Kings, that have Able men of their *Nobility*, shall finde ease in imploying them; And a better Slide into their Businesse: For People naturally bend to them, as borne in some sort to Command.

XV

Of Seditions and Troubles

SHEPHEARDS of *People*, had need know the *Kalenders* of *Tempests* in *State;* which are commonly greatest, when Things grow to Equality; As Naturall Tempests are greatest about the *Æquinoctia.* And as there are certaine hollow Blasts of Winde, and secret Swellings of Seas, before a Tempest, so are there in States:

—— *Ille etiam cæcos instare Tumultus*
Sæpe monet, Fraudesque, & operta tumescere Bella.

Libels, and licentious Discourses against the State, when they are frequent and open; And in like sort, false Newes, often running up and downe, to the disadvantage of the State, and hastily embraced; are amongst the Signes of *Troubles. Virgil* giving the Pedegre of *Fame,* saith, *She was sister to the Giants.*

Illam Terra Parens irâ irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit.—

As if *Fames* were the Reliques of *Seditions* past; But they are no lesse, indeed, the preludes of *Seditions* to come. Howsoever, he noteth it right, that *Seditious Tumults*, and *Seditious Fames*, differ no more, but as Brother and Sister, Masculine and Feminine; Especially, if it come to that, that the best Actions of a State, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest Contentment, are taken in ill Sense, and traduced: For that shewes the Envy great, as *Tacitus* saith; *Conflatâ magna Invidiâ, seu benè, seu malè, gesta premunt.* Neither doth it follow, that because these *Fames*, are a signe of *Troubles*, that the suppressing of them, with too much Severity, should be a Remedy of *Troubles*. For the Despising of them, many times, checks them best; and the Going about to stop them, doth but make a Wonder Long-lived. Also that kinde of Obedience, which *Tacitus* speaketh of, is to be held suspected; *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quàm exequi;* Disputing, Excusing, Cavilling upon Mandates and Directions, is a kinde of shaking off the yoake, and Assay of disobedience: Especially, if in those disputings, they, which are for the direction, speake fearefully, and tenderly; And those that are against it, audaciously.

Also, as *Macciavel* noteth well; when Princes, that ought to be Common Parents, make

themselves as a Party, and leane to a side, it is as a Boat that is overthrowen, by uneven weight, on the one Side; As was well seen, in the time of *Henry* the third of *France:* For first, himselfe entred League for the Extirpation of the *Protestants;* and presently after, the same League was turned upon Himselfe. For when the Authority of Princes, is made but an Accessary to a Cause; And that there be other Bands, that tie faster, then the Band of Soveraignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession.

Also, when Discords, and Quarrells, and Factions, are carried openly, and audaciously; it is a Signe, the Reverence of Government is lost. For the Motions of the greatest persons, in a Government, ought to be, as the Motions of the Planets, under *Primum Mobile;* (according to the old Opinion:) which is, That Every of them, is carried swiftly, by the Highest Motion, and softly in their owne Motion. And therfore, when great Ones, in their owne particular Motion, move violently, and, as *Tacitus* expresseth it well, *Liberiùs, quàm ut Imperantium meminissent;* It is a Signe, the Orbs are out of Frame. For Reverence is that, wherwith Princes are girt from God; Who threatneth the dissolving thereof; *Solvam cingula Regum.*

So when any of the foure Pillars of Government, are mainly shaken, or weakned (which are *Religion, Iustice, Counsell,* and *Treasure,*) Men had need to pray for Faire Weather. But let us passe from this Part of Predictions, (Concerning which, neverthelesse, more light may

be taken, from that which followeth;) And let us speake first of the *Materials* of *Seditions;* Then of the *Motives* of them; And thirdly of the *Remedies.*

Concerning the *Materialls* of *Seditions.* It is a Thing well to be considered: For the surest way to prevent *Seditions,* (if the Times doe beare it,) is to take away the *Matter* of them. For if there be Fuell prepared, it is hard to tell, whence the Spark shall come, that shall set it on Fire. The *Matter* of *Seditions* is of two kindes; *Much Poverty,* and *Much Discontentment.* It is certaine, so many *Overthrowne Estates,* so many Votes for *Troubles. Lucan* noteth well the *State* of *Rome,* before the Civill Warre.

Hinc Usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore Fœnus,
Hinc concussa Fides, & multis utile Bellum.

This same *Multis utile Bellum,* is an assured and infallible Signe, of a State, disposed to *Seditions,* and *Troubles.* And if this *Poverty,* and Broken Estate, in the better Sort, be ioyned with a Want and Necessity, in the meane People, the danger is imminent, and great. For the Rebellions of the Belly are the worst. As for *Discontentments,* they are in the Politique Body, like to Humours in the Naturall, which are apt to gather a preternaturall Heat, and to Enflame. And let no Prince measure the Danger of them, by this; whether they be Iust, or Uniust? For that were to imagine People to be too reasonable; who doe often spurne at

their owne Good: Nor yet by this; whether the Griefes, wherupon they rise, be in fact, great or small: For they are the most dangerous *Discontentments*, where the Feare is greater then the Feeling. *Dolendi Modus, Timendi non item.* Besides, in great Oppressions, the same Things, that provoke the Patience, doe withall mate the Courage: But in Feares it is not so. Neither let any Prince, or State, be secure concerning *Discontentments*, because they have been often, or have been long and yet no Perill hath ensued; For as it is true, that every Vapor, or Fume, doth not turne into a Storme; So it is, neverthelesse, true, that Stormes, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; And as the Spanish Proverb noteth well; *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The *Causes* and *Motives* of *Seditions* are; *Innovation* in *Religion; Taxes; Alteration of Lawes and Customes; Breaking of Priviledges; Generall Oppression; Advancement of unworthy persons; Strangers; Dearths; Disbanded Souldiers; Factions growne desperate;* And whatsoever in offending People, ioyneth and knitteth them, in a Common Cause.

For the *Remedies;* There may be some generall Preservatives, whereof wee will speake; As for the iust Cure, it must answer to the Particular Disease: And so be left to Counsell, rather then Rule.

The first *Remedy* or prevention, is to remove by all meanes possible, that *materiall Cause* of *Sedition*, wherof we spake; which is *Want* and *Poverty* in the *Estate.* To which purpose, ser-

with the Opening, and well Ballancing of Trade; The Cherishing of Manufactures; the Banishing of Idlenesse; the Repressing of waste and Excesse, by Sumptuary Lawes; the Improvement and Husbanding of the Soyle; the Regulating of Prices of things vendible; the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes; And the like. Generally, it is to be foreseene, that the Population of a Kingdome, (especially if it be not mowen downe by warrs) doe not exceed, the Stock of the Kingdome, which should maintaine them. Neither is the Population, to be reckoned, onely by number: For a smaller Number, that spend more, and earne lesse, doe weare out an Estate, sooner then a greater Number, that live lower, and gather more. Therefore the Multiplying of Nobilitie, and other Degrees of Qualitie, in an over Proportion, to the Common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessitie: And so doth likewise an overgrowne Clergie; For they bring nothing to the Stocke; And in like manner, when more are bred Schollers, then Preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembred, that for as much as the increase of any Estate, must be upon the Forrainer, (for whatsoever is some where gotten, is some where lost) There be but three Things, which one Nation selleth unto another; The *Commoditie* as Nature yeeldeth it; The *Manufacture;* and the *Vecture* or *Carriage*. So that if these three wheeles goe, Wealth will flow as in a Spring tide. And it commeth many times to passe, that *Materiam superabit Opus;* That the Worke, and Carriage, is more worth,

then the Materiall, and enricheth a State more; As is notably seene in the *Low-Countrey-Men*, who have the best Mines, above ground, in the World.

Above all things, good Policie is to be used, that the Treasure and Moneyes, in a State, be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwise, a State may have a great Stock, and yet starve. And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread. This is done, chiefly, by suppressing, or at the least, keeping a strait Hand, upon the Devouring Trades of *Usurie*, *Ingrossing*, great *Pasturages*, and the like.

For Removing *Discontentments*, or at least, the danger of them; There is in every State (as we know) two Portions of *Subiects;* The *Noblesse*, and the *Commonaltie*. When one of these is *Discontent*, the danger is not great; For Common People, are of slow Motion, if they be not excited, by the Greater Sort; And the Greater Sort are of small strength, except the Multitude, be apt and ready, to move of themselves. Then is the danger, when the Greater Sort doe but wait for the Troubling of the Waters, amongst the Meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The Poets faigne, that the rest of the Gods, would have bound *Iupiter;* which he hearing of, by the Counsell of *Pallas*, sent for *Briareus*, with his hundred Hands, to come in to his Aid. An Embleme, no doubt, to shew, how safe it is for Monarchs, to make sure of the good Will of Common People.

To give moderate Liberty, for Griefes, and *Discontentments* to evaporate, (so it be without

too great Insolency or Bravery) is a safe Way. For he that turneth the Humors backe, and maketh the Wound bleed inwards, endangereth maligne Ulcers, and pernicious Impostumations.

The Part of *Epimetheus*, mought well become *Prometheus*, in the case of *Discontentments;* For there is not a better provision against them. *Epimetheus*, when Griefes and Evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the Bottome of the Vessell. Certainly, the Politique and Artificiall Nourishing, and Entertaining of *Hopes*, and Carrying Men from *Hopes* to *Hopes;* is one of the best Antidotes, against the Poyson of *Discontentments.* And it is a certaine Signe, of a wise Government, and Proceeding, when it can hold Mens hearts by *Hopes*, when it cannot by Satisfaction: And when it can handle things, in such manner, as no Evill shall appeare so peremptory, but that it hath some Out-let of *Hope:* Which is the lesse hard to doe, because both particular Persons, and Factions, are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that, which they beleeve not.

Also, the Foresight, and Prevention, that there be no likely or fit Head, whereunto *Discontented Persons* may resort, and under whom they may ioyne, is a knowne, but an excellent Point of Caution. I understand a fit Head, to be one, that hath Greatnesse, & Reputation; That hath Confidence with the *Discontented Party;* and upon whom they turne their Eyes; And that is thought *discontented* in his own particular; which kinde of Persons, are either

to be wonne, and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast and true manner; Or to be fronted, with some other, of the same Party, that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the Dividing and Breaking of all Factions, and Combinations that are adverse to the State, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust amongst themselves, is not one of the worst *Remedies*. For it is a desperate Case, if those, that hold with the Proceeding of the State, be full of Discord and Faction; And those that are against it, be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharpe Speeches, which have fallen from *Princes*, have given fire to *Seditions*. *Cæsar* did himselfe infinite Hurt, in that Speech; *Sylla nescivit Literas, non potuit dictare:* For it did, utterly, cut off that *Hope*, which Men had entertained, that he would, at one time or other, give over his Dictatorship. *Galba* undid himselfe by that Speech; *Legi à se Militem, non emi:* For it put the Souldiers, out of Hope, of the Donative. *Probus* likewise, by that Speech; *Si vixero, non opus erit ampliùs Romano Imperio militibus.* A Speech of great Despaire, for the Souldiers: And many the like. Surely, *Princes* had need, in tender Matters, and Ticklish Times, to beware what they say; Especially in these short Speeches, which flie abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions. For as for large Discourses, they are flat Things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let Princes, against all Events, not be without some Great Person, one, or rather more,

of Military Valour neere unto them, for the Repressing of *Seditions*, in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in Court, upon the first Breaking out of *Troubles*, then were fit. And the *State* runneth the danger of that, which *Tacitus* saith; *Atque is Habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent Pauci, Plures vellent, Omnes paterentur.* But let such Military Persons, be Assured, and well reputed of, rather then Factious, and Popular; Holding also good Correspondence, with the other Great Men in the *State;* Or else the Remedie, is worse then the Disease.

Such was the state of feeling, that this foul deed was ventured by a few, desired by more, tolerated by all

XVI

Of Atheisme

I HAD rather beleeve all the Fables in the *Legend*, and the *Talmud*, and the *Alcoran*, then that this universall Frame, is without a Minde. And therefore, God never wrought Miracle, to convince *Atheisme*, because his Ordinary Works convince it. It is true, that a little Philosophy inclineth Mans Minde to *Atheisme;* But depth in Philosophy, bringeth Mens Mindes about to *Religion:* For while the Minde of Man, looketh upon Second Causes Scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and goe no further: But when it beholdeth, the Chaine of them, Confederate and Linked together, it must needs flie to *Providence*, and *Deitie*. Nay even that *Schoole*, which is most accused of *Atheisme*, doth most demonstrate *Religion;* That is, the *Schoole* of *Leucippus*, and *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. For it is a thousand times more Credible, that foure Mutable Elements, and one Immutable Fift Essence, duly and Eternally placed, need no God; then that an Army, of Infinite small Portions, or Seedes unplaced, should have

produced this Order, and Beauty, without a Divine Marshall. The Scripture saith; *The Foole hath said in his Heart, there is no God:* It is not said; *The Foole hath thought in his Heart:* So as, he rather saith it by rote to himselfe, as that he would have, then that he can throughly beleeve it, or be perswaded of it. For none deny there is a *God*, but those, for whom it maketh that there were no *God.* It appeareth in nothing more, that *Atheisme* is rather in the *Lip*, then in the *Heart* of Man, then by this; That *Atheists* will ever be talking of that their Opinion, as if they fainted in it, within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthned, by the Consent of others: Nay more, you shall have *Atheists* strive to get *Disciples*, as it fareth with other Sects: And, which is most of all, you shall have of them, that will suffer for *Atheisme*, and not recant; Wheras, if they did truly thinke, that there were no such Thing as *God*, why should they trouble themselves? *Epicurus* is charged, that he did but dissemble, for his credits sake, when he affirmed; There were *Blessed Natures*, but such as enioyed themselves, without having respect to the Government of the World. Wherin, they say, he did temporize; though in secret, he thought, there was no *God.* But certainly, he is traduced; For his Words are Noble and Divine: *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi Opiniones Dijs applicare profanum. Plato* could have said no more. And although, he had the Confidence, to deny the *Administration*, he had not the Power to deny the *Natura.* The *Indians* of the *West*, have Names for their

particular *Gods*, though they have no name for *God:* As if the *Heathens*, should have had the Names *Iupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, &c. But not the Word *Deus:* which shewes, that even those Barbarous People, have the Notion, though they have not the Latitude, and Extent of it. So that against *Atheists*, the very Savages take part, with the very subtillest Philosophers. The Contemplative *Atheist* is rare; A *Diagoras*, a *Bion*, a *Lucian* perhaps, and some others; And yet they seeme to be more then they are; For that, all that Impugne a received *Religion*, or *Superstition*, are by the adverse Part, branded with the Name of *Atheists*. But the great *Atheists*, indeed, are *Hypocrites;* which are ever Handling Holy Things, but without Feeling. So as they must needs be cauterized in the End. The *Causes* of *Atheisme* are; *Divisions* in *Religion*, if they be many; For any one maine Division, addeth Zeale to both Sides; But many Divisions introduce *Atheisme*. Another is, *Scandall* of *Priests;* When it is come to that, which S. *Bernard* saith; *Non est iam dicere, ut Populus, sic Sacerdos: quia nec sic Populus, ut Sacerdos*. A third is, Custome of *Profane Scoffing* in *Holy Matters;* which doth, by little and little, deface the Reverence of Religion. And lastly, *Learned Times*, specially with Peace, and Prosperity: For Troubles and Adversities doe more bow Mens Mindes to *Religion*. They that deny a *God*, destroy Mans Nobility: For certainly, Man is of Kinne to the Beasts, by his Body; And if, he be not of Kinne to *God*, by his Spirit, he is a Base and Ignoble Creature.

It destroies likewise Magnanimity, and the Raising of Humane Nature: For take an Example of a Dog; And mark what a Generosity, and Courage he will put on, when he findes himselfe maintained, by a Man; who to him is in stead of a *God*, or *Melior Natura:* which courage is manifestly such, as that Creature, without that Confidence, of a better Nature, then his owne, could never attaine. So Man, when he resteth and assureth himselfe, upon divine Protection, and Favour, gathereth a Force and Faith; which Humane Nature, in it selfe, could not obtaine. Therefore, as *Atheisme* is in all respects hatefull, so in this, that it depriveth humane Nature, of the Meanes, to exalt it selfe, above Humane Frailty. As it is in particular Persons, so it is in Nations: Never was there such a *State*, for Magnanimity, as *Rome:* Of this *State* heare what *Cicero* saith; *Quam volumus, licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso huius Gentis & Terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos & Latinos; sed Pietate, ac Religione, atque hâc unâ Sapientiâ, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine, omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes Nationesque superavimus.*

XVII

Of Superstition

IT were better to have no Opinion of *God* at all; then such an Opinion, as is unworthy of him: For the one is Unbeleefe, the other is Contumely: And certainly *Superstition* is the Reproach of the *Deity*. *Plutarch* saith well to that purpose: *Surely* (saith he) *I had rather, a great deale, Men should say, there was no such Man, at all, as Plutarch; then that they should say, that there was one Plutarch, that would eat his Children, as soon as they were borne*, as the Poets speake of *Saturne*. And, as the Contumely is greater towards *God*, so the Danger is greater towards Men. *Atheisme* leaves a Man to Sense; to Philosophy; to Naturall Piety; to Lawes; to Reputation; All which may be Guides to an outward Morall vertue, though *Religion*

Augustus Cæsar) were civil Times. But *Superstition*, hath beene the Confusion of many States; And bringeth in a new *Primum Mobile*, that ravisheth all the Sphieares of Government. The Master of *Superstition* is the People; And in all *Superstition*, Wise Men follow Fooles; And Arguments are fitted to Practise, in a reversed Order. It was gravely said, by some of the Prelates, in the *Councell of Trent*, where the doctrine of the Schoolemen bare great Sway; *That the Schoolemen were like Astronomers, which did faigne Eccentricks and Epicycles, and such Engines of Orbs, to save the Phenomena; though they knew, there were no such Things*: And, in like manner, that the Schoolmen, had framed a Number of subtile and intricate *Axiomes*, and *Theorems*, to save the practise of the Church. The *Causes* of *Superstition* are: Pleasing and sensuall Rites and Ceremonies: Excesse of Outward and Pharisaicall Holinesse; Over-great Reverence of Traditions, which cannot but load the Church; The Stratagems of Prelates for their owne Ambition and Lucre: The Favouring too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Novelties; The taking an Aime at divine Matters by Human, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations; And lastly, Barbarous Times, Especially ioyned with Calamities and Disasters. *Superstition*, without a vaile, is a deformed Thing; For, as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be so like a Man; So the Similitude of *Superstition* to *Religion*, makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome Meat corrupteth to

little Wormes; So good Formes and Orders, corrupt into a Number of petty Observances. There is a *Superstition*, in avoiding *Superstition;* when men thinke to doe best, if they goe furthest from the *Superstition* formerly received: Therefore, Care would be had, that, (as it fareth in ill Purgings) the Good be not taken away, with the Bad; which commonly is done, when the People is the Reformer.

XVIII

Of Travaile

TRAVAILE, in the younger Sort, is a Part of Education; In the Elder, a Part of Experience. He that *travaileth* into a Country, before he hath some Entrance into the Language, goeth to *Schoole*, and not to *Travaile*. That Young Men travaile under some Tutor, or grave Servant, I allow well; So that he be such a one, that hath the Language, and hath been in the Country before; whereby he may be able to tell them, what Things are worthy to be seene in the Country where they goe; what Acquaintances they are to seeke; What Exercises or discipline the Place yeeldeth. For else young Men shall goe hooded, and looke abroad little. It is a strange Thing, that in Sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seene, but Sky and Sea, Men should make Diaries; but in *Land-Travaile*, wherin so much is to be observed, for the most part, they omit it; As if Chance, were fitter to be registred, then Observation. Let Diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The Things to be seene and observed are: The

Courts of Princes, specially when they give Audience to Ambassadours: The Courts of Iustice, while they sit and heare Causes; And so of Consistories Ecclesiasticke: The Churches, and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are therein extant: The Wals and Fortifications of Cities and Townes; And so the Havens & Harbours: Antiquities, and Ruines: Libraries; Colledges, Disputations, and Lectures, where any are: Shipping and Navies: Houses, and Gardens of State, and Pleasure, neare great Cities: Armories: Arsenals: Magazens: Exchanges: Burses; Ware-houses: Exercises of Horsemanship; Fencing; Trayning of Souldiers; and the like: Comedies; Such wherunto the better Sort of persons doe resort; Treasuries of Iewels, and Robes; Cabinets, and Rarities: And to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the Places; where they goe. After all which, the Tutors or Servants, ought to make diligent Enquirie. As for Triumphs; Masques; Feasts; Weddings; Funeralls; Capitall Executions; and such Shewes; Men need not to be put in mind of them; Yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a Young Man, to put his *Travaile*, into a little Roome, and in short time, to gather much, this you must doe. First, as was said, he must have some Entrance into the Language, before he goeth. Then he must have such a Servant, or Tutor, as knoweth the Country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some Card or Booke describing the Country, where he travelleth; which will be a good Key to his Enquiry. Let him keepe also a Diary. Let him not stay

long in one Citty, or Towne; More or lesse as the place deserveth, but not long: Nay, when he stayeth in one City or Towne, let him change his Lodging, from one End and Part of the Towne, to another; which is a great Adamant of Acquaintance. Let him sequester himselfe from the Company of his Country men, and diet in such Places, where there is good Company of the Nation, where he travaileth. Let him upon his Removes, from one place to another, procure Recommendation, to some person of Quality, residing in the Place, whither he removeth; that he may use his Favour, in those things, he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his *Travaile*, with much profit. As for the acquaintance, which is to be sought in *Travaile;* That which is most of all profitable, is Acquaintance with the Secretaries, and Employd Men of Ambassadours; For so in *Travailing* in one Country he shall sucke the Experience of many. Let him also see and visit, Eminent Persons, in all Kindes, which are of great Name abroad; That he may be able to tell, how the Life agreeth with the Fame. For Quarels, they are with Care and Discretion to be avoided: They are, commonly, for Mistresses; Healths; Place; and Words. And let a Man beware, how he keepeth Company, with Cholerick and Quarelsome Persons; for they will engage him into their owne Quarels. When a *Travailer* returneth home, let him not leave the Countries, where he hath *Travailed*, altogether behinde him; But maintaine a Correspondence, by letters, with those of his Acquaintance, which are of most Worth.

And let his *Travaile* appeare rather in his Dis-
course, then in his Apparrell, or Gesture: And in his Discourse, let him be rather advised in his Answers, then forwards to tell Stories: And let it appeare, that he doth not change his Country Manners, for those of Forraigne Parts; But onely, prick in some Flowers, of that he hath Learned abroad, into the Customes of his owne Country.

XIX

Of Empire

IT is a miserable State of Minde, to have few Things to desire, and many Things to feare: And yet that commonly is the Case of *Kings;* Who being at the highest, want Matter of desire, which makes their Mindes more Languishing; And have many Representations of Perills and Shadowes, which makes their Mindes the lesse cleare. And this is one Reason also of that Effect, which the Scripture speaketh of; *That the Kings Heart is inscrutable.* For Multitude of Iealousies, and Lack of some predominant desire, that should marshall and put in order all the rest, maketh any Mans Heart, hard to finde, or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that *Princes*, many times, make themselves Desires, and set their Hearts upon toyes: Sometimes upon a Building; Sometimes upon Erecting of an Order; Sometimes upon the Advancing of a Person; Sometimes upon obtaining Excellency in some Art, or Feat of the Hand; As *Nero* for playing on the Harpe, *Domitian* for Certainty of the Hand with the Arrow, *Commodus* for

playing at Fence, *Caracalla* for driving Chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those, that know not the Principle; *That the Minde of Man is more cheared, and refreshed, by profiting in small things, then by standing at a stay in great.* We see also that *Kings*, that have been fortunate Conquerours in their first yeares; it being not possible for them to goe forward infinitely, but that they must have some Checke or Arrest in their Fortunes; turne in their latter yeares, to be Superstitious and Melancholy: As did *Alexander* the Great; *Dioclesian*; And in our memory, *Charles* the fift; And others: For he that is used to goe forward, and findeth a Stop, falleth out of his owne favour, and is not the Thing he was.

To speake now of the true Temper of *Empire:* It is a Thing rare, & hard to keep: For both Temper & Distemper consist of Contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraries, another to enterchange them. The Answer of *Apollonius* to *Vespasian*, is full of Excellent Instruction; *Vespasian* asked him; *What was Neroes overthrow?* He answered; *Nero could touch and tune the Harpe well; But in Government, sometimes he used to winde the pins too high, sometimes to let them downe too low.* And certaine it is, that Nothing destroieth Authority so much, as the unequall and untimely Enterchange of Power *Pressed* too farre, and *Relaxed* too much.

This is true; that the wisdome of all these latter Times in *Princes* Affaires, is rather fine Deliveries, and Shiftings of Dangers and Mis-

chiefes, when they are neare; then solid and grounded Courses to keepe them aloofe. But this is but to try Masteries with Fortune: And let men beware, how they neglect, and suffer Matter of Trouble, to be prepared: For no Man can forbid the Sparke, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in *Princes* Businesse, are many and great; But the greatest difficulty, is often in their owne Minde. For it is common with *Princes*, (saith *Tacitus*) to will Contradictories. *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, & inter se contrariæ.* For it is the Solœcisme of Power, to thinke to Command the End, and yet not to endure the Meane.

Kings have to deale with their *Neighbours;* their *Wives;* their *Children;* their *Prelates* or *Clergie;* their *Nobles;* their *Second-Nobles* or *Gentlemen;* their *Merchants;* their *Commons;* and their *Men of Warre;* And from all these arise Dangers, if Care and Circumspection be not used.

First for their *Neighbours;* There can no generall Rule be given, (The Occasions are so variable,) save one; which ever holdeth; which is, That *Princes* doe keepe due Centinell, that none of their *Neighbours* doe overgrow so, (by Encrease of Territory, by Embracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them, then they were. And this is, generally, the work of Standing Counsels to foresee, and to hinder it. During that *Triumvirate* of *Kings*, *King Henry* the 8. of *England*, *Francis* the 1. *King* of *France*, and *Charles* the 5. *Emperour*, there was such a watch kept,

that none of the Three, could win a Palme of Ground, but the other two, would straightwaies ballance it, either by Confederation, or, if need were, by a Warre: And would not, in any wise, take up Peace at Interest. And the like was done by that League (which, *Guicciardine* saith, was the Security of *Italy*) made betwene *Ferdinando* King of *Naples; Lorenzius Medices*, and *Ludovicus Sforza, Potentates*, the one of *Florence*, the other of *Millaine*. Neither is the Opinion, of some of the Schoole-Men, to be received; *That a warre cannot iustly be made, but upon a precedent Iniury, or Provocation*. For there is no Question, but a iust Feare, of an Imminent danger, though there be no Blow given, is a lawfull Cause of a Warre.

For their *Wives;* There are Cruell Examples of them. *Livia* is infamed for the poysoning of her husband: *Roxolana, Solymans* Wife, was the destruction, of that renowned Prince, *Sultan Mustapha;* And otherwise troubled his House, and Succession: *Edward* the Second of *England*, his Queen, had the principall hand, in the Deposing and Murther of her Husband. This kinde of danger, is then to be feared, chiefly, when the *Wives* have Plots, for the Raising of their owne Children; Or else that they be Advoutresses.

For their *Children:* The Tragedies, likewise, of dangers from them, have been many. And generally, the Entring of Fathers, into Suspicion of their *Children*, hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of *Mustapha*, (that we named before) was so fatall to *Solymans* Line, as the

Succession of the *Turks*, from *Solyman*, untill this day, is suspected to be untrue, and of strange Bloud; For that *Selymus* the Second was thought to be Supposititious. The destruction of *Crispus*, a young Prince, of rare Towardnesse, by *Constantinus* the Great, his Father, was in like manner fatall to his House; For both *Constantinus*, and *Constance*, his Sonnes, died violent deaths; And *Constantius* his other Sonne, did little better; who died, indeed, of Sicknesse, but after that *Iulianus* had taken Armes against him. The destruction of *Demetrius*, Sonne to *Philip* the Second, of *Macedon*, turned upon the Father, who died of Repentance. And many like Examples there are: But few, or none, where the Fathers had good by such distrust; Except it were, where the Sonnes were up, in open Armes against them; As was *Selymus* the first against *Baiazet:* And the three Sonnes of *Henry* the Second, King of *England*.

For their *Prelates;* when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them: As it was, in the times of *Anselmus*, and *Thomas Becket*, Archbishops of *Canterbury;* who with their Crosiars, did almost try it, with the Kings Sword; And yet they had to deale with Stout and Haughty Kings; *William Rufus*, *Henry* the first, and *Henry* the second. The danger is not from that *State*, but where it hath a dependance of forraine Authority; Or where the Churchmen come in, and are elected, not by the Collation of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People.

For their *Nobles;* To keepe them at a distance, it is not amisse; But to depresse them, may make a King more Absolute, but lesse Safe; And lesse able to performe any thing, that he desires. I have noted it, in my History of King *Henry* the Seventh, of *England*, who depressed his *Nobility;* Whereupon, it came to passe, that his Times were full of Difficulties, & Troubles; For the *Nobility*, though they continued loyall unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him, in his Businesse. So that in effect, he was faine to doe all things, himselfe.

For their *Second Nobles;* There is not much danger from them, being a Body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little Hurt: Besides, they are a Counterpoize to the Higher *Nobility*, that they grow not too Potent: And lastly, being the most immediate in Authority, with the Common People, they doe best temper Popular Commotions.

For their *Merchants;* They are *Vena porta;* And if they flourish not, a Kingdome may have good Limmes, but will have empty Veines, and nourish little. Taxes, and Imposts upon them, doe seldome good to the *Kings* Revenew; For that that he winnes in the Hundred, he leeseth in the Shire; The particular Rates being increased, but the totall Bulke of Trading rather decreased.

For their *Commons;* There is little danger from them, except it be, where they have Great and Potent Heads; Or where you meddle, with the Point of Religion; Or their Customes, or Meanes of Life.

For their *Men of warre;* It is a dangerous State, where they live and remaine in a Body, and are used to Donatives; whereof we see Examples in the *Ianizaries*, and *Pretorian* Bands of *Rome:* But Traynings of Men, and Arming them in severall places, and under severall Commanders, and without Donatives, are Things of Defence, and no Danger.

Princes are like to *Heavenly Bodies*, which cause good or evill times; And which have much *Venęration*, but no *Rest.* All precepts concerning *Kings*, are in effect comprehended, in those two Remembrances: *Memento quod es Homo;* And *Memento quod es Deus*, or *Vice Dei:* The one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.

XX

Of Counsell

THE greatest Trust, betweene Man and Man, is the Trust of *Giving Counsell.* For in other Confidences, Men commit the parts of life; Their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, some particular Affaire; But to such, as they make their *Counsellours*, they commit the whole: By how much the more, they are obliged to all Faith and integrity. The wisest *Princes*, need not thinke it any diminution to their Greatnesse, or derogation to their Sufficiency, to rely upon *Counsell. God* himselfe is not without: But hath made it one of the great Names, of his blessed Sonne; *The Counsellour. Salomon* hath pronounced, that *In Counsell is Stability.* Things will have their first, or second Agitation; If they be not tossed upon the Arguments of *Counsell*, they will be tossed upon the Waves of *Fortune;* And be full of Inconstancy, doing, and undoing, like the Reeling of a drunken Man. *Salomons* Sonne found the Force of *Counsell*, as his Father saw the Necessity of it. For the Beloved Kingdome of God was first

rent, and broken by ill *Counsell;* Upon which *Counsell*, there are set, for our Instruction, the two Markes, whereby *Bad Counsell* is, for ever, best discerned: That it was *young Counsell*, for the Persons; And *Violent Counsell*, for the Matter.

The Ancient Times doe set forth in Figure, both the Incorporation, and inseparable Coniunction of *Counsel* with *Kings;* And the wise and Politique use of *Counsell* by *Kings:* The one, in that they say, *Iupiter* did marry *Metis*, which signifieth *Counsell:* Whereby they intend, that *Soveraignty* is married to *Counsell:* The other, in that which followeth, which was thus: They say after *Iupiter* was married to *Metis*, she conceived by him, and was with Childe; but *Iupiter* suffered her not to stay, till she brought forth, but eat her up; Wherby he became himselfe with Child, and was delivered of *Pallas Armed*, out of his Head. Which monstrous Fable, containeth a Secret of *Empire:* How *Kings* are to make use of their *Councell* of *State*. That first, they ought to referre matters unto them, which is the first Begetting or Impregnation; But when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped, in the Wombe of their *Councell*, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth; That then, they suffer not their *Councell* to goe through with the Resolution, and direction, as if it depended on them; But take the matter backe into their owne Hands, and make it appeare to the world, that the Decrees, and finall Directions, (which, because they come forth with *Prudence*, and *Power*, are resembled

to *Pallas Armed*) proceeded from themselves: And not onely from their *Authority*, but (the more to adde Reputation to Themselves) from their *Head*, and *Device.*

Let us now speake of the *Inconveniences* of *Counsell*, and of the *Remedies*. The *Inconveniences*, that have been noted in calling, and using Counsell, are three. First, the Revealing of Affaires, whereby they become lesse *Secret.* Secondly, the Weakning of the Authority of Princes, as if they were lesse of Themselves. Thirdly, the Danger of being unfaithfully *counselled*, and more for the good of them that *counsell*, then of him that is *counselled.* For which *Inconveniences*, the Doctrine of *Italy*, and Practise of *France*, in some Kings times, hath introduced *Cabinet Counsels;* A Remedy worse then the Disease.

As to *Secrecy; Princes* are not bound to communicate all Matters, with all *Counsellors;* but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should doe, should declare what he will doe. But let *Princes* beware, that the *unsecreting* of their Affáires, comes not from Themselves. And as for *Cabinet Counsels*, it may be their *Motto; Plenus rimarum sum:* One futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will doe more hurt, then many, that know it their duty to conceale. It is true, there be some Affaires, which require extreme *Secrecy*, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons, besides the *King:* Neither are those *Counsels* unprosperous: For besides the *Secrecy*, they commonly goe on constantly

in one Spirit of Direction, without distraction. But then it must be a Prudent *King*, such as is able to Grinde with a *Hand-Mill;* And those *Inward Counsellours*, had need also, be Wise Men, and especially true and trusty to the Kings Ends; As it was with King *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, who in his greatest Businesse, imparted himself to none, except it were to *Morton* and *Fox*.

For *Weakening of Authority;* The Fable sheweth the *Remedy*. Nay the Maiesty of Kings, is rather exalted, then diminished, when they are in the Chaire of Counsell: Neither was there ever *Prince*, bereaved of his Dependances, by his *Counsell;* Except where there hath beene, either an Overgreatnesse in one *Counsellour*, Or an Overstrict Combination in Divers; which are Things soone found, and holpen.

For the last *Inconvenience*, that Men will *Counsell with an Eye to themselves;* Certainly, *Non inveniet Fidem super terram*, is meant of the Nature of Times, and not of all particular Persons; There be, that are in Nature, Faithfull, and Sincere, and Plaine, and Direct; Not Crafty, and Involved: Let *Princes*, above all, draw to themselves such Natures. Besides, *Counsellours* are not Commonly so united, but that one *Counsellour* keepeth Centinell over Another; So that if any do *Counsell* out of Faction, or private Ends, it commonly comes to the *Kings* Eare. But the best *Remedy* is, if *Princes* know their *Counsellours*, as well as their *Counsellours* know Them:

Principis est Virtus maxima nosse suos.

And on the other side, *Counsellours* should not be too Speculative, into their Soveraignes Person. The true Composition of a *Counsellour*, is rather to be skilfull in their Masters Businesse, then in his Nature; For then he is like to Advise him, and not to Feede his Humour. It is of singular use to *Princes*, if they take the Opinions of their *Counsell*, both Seperately, and Together. For Private Opinion is more free; but Opinion before others is more Reverend. In private, Men are more bold in their owne Humours; And in Consort, Men are more obnoxious to others Humours; Therefore it is good to take both: And of the inferiour Sort, rather in private, to preserve Freedome; Of the greater, rather in Consort, to preserve Respect. It is in vaine for *Princes* to take *Counsel* concerning *Matters*, if they take no *Counsell* likewise concerning Persons: For all *Matters*, are as dead Images; And the Life of the Execution of Affaires, resteth in the good Choice of *Persons*. Neither is it enough to consult concerning *Persons*, *Secundum genera*, as in an *Idea*, or *Mathematicall Description*, what the Kinde and Character of the *Person* should be; For the greatest Errours are committed, and the most Iudgement is shewne, in the choice of *Individuals*. It was truly said; *Optimi Consiliarij mortui; Books* will speake plaine, when *Counsellors* Blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them; Specially the *Bookes* of such, as Themselves have been Actors upon the Stage.

The *Counsels*, at this Day, in most Places,

are but Familiar Meetings; where Matters are rather talked on, then debated. And they run too swift to the Order or Act of *Counsell.* It were better, that in Causes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not spoken to, till the next day; *In Nocte Consilium.* So was it done, in the Commission of *Union*, between *England* and *Scotland;* which was a Grave and Orderly Assembly. I commend set Daies for Petitions: For both it gives the Suitors more certainty for their Attendance; And it frees the Meetings for Matters of Estate, that they may *Hoc agere.* In choice of Committees, for ripening Businesse, for the *Counsell*, it is better to choose Indifferent persons, then to make an Indifferency, by putting in those, that are strong, on both sides. I commend also *standing Commissions;* As for Trade; for Treasure; for Warre; for Suits; for some Provinces: For where there be divers particular *Counsels*, and but one *Counsell* of Estate, (as it is in *Spaine*) they are in effect no more, then *Standing Commissions;* Save that they have greater Authority. Let such, as are to informe *Counsels*, out of their particular Professions, (as Lawyers, Sea-men, Mint-men, and the like) be first heard, before *Committees;* And then, as Occasion serves, before the *Counsell.* And let them not come in Multitudes, or in a Tribunitious Manner; For that is, to clamour *Counsels*, not to enforme them. A long Table, and a square Table, or Seats about the Walls, seeme Things of Forme, but are Things of Substance; For at a long Table, a few at the upper end, in effect,

sway all the Businesse; But in the other Forme, there is more use of the *Counsellours* Opinions, that sit lower. A *King*, when he presides in *Counsell*, let him beware how he Opens his owne Inclination too much, in that which he propoundeth: For else *Counsellours* will but take the Winde of him; And in stead of giving Free Counsell, sing him a Song of *Placebo*.

XXI

Of Delayes

FORTUNE is like the *Market;* Where many times, if you can stay a little, the Price will fall. And againe, it is sometimes like *Sybilla's* Offer; which at first offereth the Commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the Price. For *Occasion* (as it is in the Common verse) *turneth a Bald Noddle, after she hath presented her locks in Front, and no hold taken:* Or at least turneth the Handle of the Bottle, first to be received, and after the Belly, which is hard to claspe. There is surely no greater Wisedome, then well to time the Beginnings, and Onsets of Things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seeme light: And more dangers have deceived Men, then forced them. Nay, it were better, to meet some Dangers halfe way, though they come nothing neare, then to keepe too long a watch, upon their Approaches; For if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleepe. On the other side, to be deceived, with too long Shadowes, (As some have beene, when the Moone

was low, and shone on their Enemies backe) And so to shoot off before the time; Or to teach dangers to come on, by over early Buckling towards them, is another Extreme. The Ripenesse, or Unripenesse, of the Occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; And generally, it is good, to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions, to *Argos* with his hundred Eyes; And the Ends to *Briareus* with his hundred Hands: First to Watch, and then to Speed. For the *Helmet* of *Pluto*, which maketh the Politicke Man goe Invisible, is, *Secrecy* in the Counsell, & *Celerity* in the Execution. For when Things are once come to the Execution, there is no *Secrecy* comparable to *Celerity;* Like the Motion of a Bullet in the Ayre, which flyeth so swift, as it out-runs the Eye.

XXII

Of Cunning

WE take *Cunning* for a Sinister or Crooked Wisedome. And certainly, there is great difference, between a *Cunning* Man, and a *Wise* Man; Not onely in Point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can packe the Cards, and yet cannot play well; So there are some, that are good in Canvasses, and Factions, that are otherwise Weake Men. Againe, it is one thing to understand Persons, and another thing to understand Matters; For many are perfect in Mens Humours, that are not greatly Capable of the Reall Part of Businesse; Which is the Constitution of one, that hath studied Men, more then Bookes. Such Men are fitter for Practise, then for Counsell; And they are good but in their own Alley: Turne them to New Men, and they have lost their Ayme; So as the old Rule, to know a Foole from a Wise Man; *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, & videbis;* doth scarce hold for them. And because these *Cunning Men*, are like Haberdashers of Small Wares, it is not amisse to set forth their Shop.

It is a point of *Cunning;* to wait upon him, with whom you speake, with your eye; As the Iesuites give it in precept: For there be many Wise Men, that have Secret Hearts, and Transparant Countenances. Yet this would be done, with a demure Abasing of your Eye sometimes, as the Iesuites also doe use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtaine of present dispatch, you entertaine, and amuse the party, with whom you deale, with some other Discourse; That he be not too much awake, to make Obiections. I knew a *Counsellor* and *Secretary*, that never came to *Queene Elizabeth* of *England*, with Bills to signe, but he would alwaies first put her into some discourse of Estate, that she mought the lesse minde the Bills.

The like Surprize, may be made, by Moving things, when the Party is in haste, and cannot stay, to consider advisedly, of that is moved.

If a man would crosse a Businesse, that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himselfe, in such sort, as may foile it.

The breaking off, in the midst of that, one was about to say, as if he tooke himselfe up, breeds a greater Appetite in him, with whom you conferre, to know more.

And because it workes better, when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by Question, then if you offer it of your selfe, you may lay a Bait for a Question, by shewing another Visage and Countenance, then you are wont; To the end, to give Occasion, for the party to

aske, what the Matter is of the Change? As *Nehemias* did; *And I had not before that time been sad before the King.*

In Things, that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to breake the Ice, by some whose Words are of lesse weight, and to reserve the more weighty Voice, to come in, as by chance, so that he may be asked the Question upon the others Speech. As *Narcissus* did, in relating to *Claudius*, the Marriage of *Messalina* and *Silius.*

In things, that a Man would not be seen in, himselfe; It is a Point of *Cunning*, to borrow the Name of the World; As to say; *The World sayes*, Or, *There is a speech abroad.*

I knew one, that when he wrote a Letter, he would put that which was most Materiall, in the *Post-script*, as if it had been a By-matter.

I knew another, that when he came to have Speech, he would passe over that, that he intended most, and goe forth, and come backe againe, and speake of it, as of a Thing, that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves, to be surprized, at such times, as it is like, the party that they work upon, will suddenly come upon them: And to be found with a Letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; To the end, they may be apposed of those things, which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a Point of *Cunning*, to let fall those Words, in a Mans owne Name, which he would have another Man learne, and use, and thereupon take Advantage. I knew two, that were Competitors, for the Secretaries Place, in *Queene*

Elizabeths time, and yet kept good Quarter betweene themselves; And would conferre, one with another, upon the Businesse; And the one of them said, That to be a Secretary, in the *Declination of a Monarchy*, was a Ticklish Thing, and that he did not affect it: The other, straight caught up those Words, and discoursed with divers of his Friends, that he had no reason to desire to be Secretary, in the *Declination of a Monarchy*. The first Man tooke hold of it, and found Meanes, it was told the *Queene;* Who hearing of a *Declination of a Monarchy*, tooke it so ill, as she would never after heare of the others Suit.

There is a *Cunning*, which we in *England* call, *The Turning of the Cat in the Pan;* which is, when that which a Man sayes to another, he laies it, as if Another had said it to him. And to say Truth, it is not easie, when such a Matter passed between two, to make it appeare, from which of them, it first moved and began.

It is a way, that some men have, to glaunce and dart at Others, by Iustifying themselves, by Negatives; As to say, *This I doe not:* As *Tigillinus* did towards *Burrhus; Se non diversas spes, sed Incolumitatem Imperatoris simpliciter spectare.*

Some have in readinesse, so many Tales and Stories, as there is Nothing, they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale; which serveth both to keepe themselves more in Guard, and to make others carry it, with more Pleasure.

It is a good Point of *Cunning*, for a Man, to shape the Answer he would have, in his owne

Words, and Propositions; For it makes the other Party sticke the lesse.

It is strange, how long some Men will lie in wait, to speake somewhat, they desire to say; And how farre about they will fetch; And how many other Matters they will beat over, to come neare it. It is a Thing of great Patience, but yet of much Use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected Question, doth many times surprise a Man, and lay him open. Like to him, that having changed his Name, and walking in *Pauls*, Another suddenly came behind him, and called him by his true Name, whereat straightwaies he looked backe.

But these Small Wares, and Petty Points of *Cunning*, are infinite: And it were a good deed, to make a List of them: For that nothing doth more hurt in a State, then that *Cunning Men* passe for *Wise*.

But certainly, some there are, that know the Resorts and Falls of Businesse, that cannot sinke into the Maine of it: Like a House, that hath convenient Staires, and Entries, but never a faire Roome. Therfore, you shall see them finde out pretty Looses in the Conclusion, but are no waies able to Examine, or debate Matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction. Some build rather upon the Abusing of others, and (as we now say;) *Putting Tricks upon them;* Then upon Soundnesse of their own proceedings. But *Salomon* saith; *Prudens advertit ad Gressus suos: Stultus divertit ad Dolos.*

XXIII

Of Wisedome for a Mans selfe

AN *Ant* is a *wise Creature* for it Selfe; But it is a shrewd Thing, in an Orchard, or Garden. And certainly, Men that are great *Lovers* of *Themselves*, waste the Publique. Divide with reason betweene *Selfe-love*, and *Society:* And be so true to thy *Selfe*, as thou be not false to Others; Specially to thy King, and Country. It is a poore Center of a Mans Actions, *Himselfe.* It is right Earth. For that onely stands fast upon his owne Center; Whereas all Things, that have Affinity with the *Heavens*, move upon the Center of another, which they benefit. The Referring of all to a *Mans Selfe*, is more tolerable in a Soveraigne Prince; Because *Themselves* are not onely *Themselves;* But their Good and Evill, is at the perill of the Publique Fortune. But it is a desperate Evill in a Servant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republique. For whatsoever Affaires passe such a Mans Hands, he crooketh them to his owne Ends: Which must needs be often Eccentrick to the Ends of his Master, or State. Therefore

let Princes, or States, choose such Servants, as have not this marke; Except they meane their Service should be made but the Accessary. That which maketh the Effect more pernicious, is, that all Proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough, for the Servants Good, to be preferred before the Masters; But yet it is a greater Extreme, when a little Good of the Servant, shall carry Things, against a great Good of the Masters. And yet that is the case of Bad Officers, Treasurers, Ambassadours, Generals, and other False and Corrupt Servants; which set a Bias upon their Bowle, of their owne Petty Ends, and Envies, to the overthrow of their Masters Great and Important Affaires. And for the most part, the Good such Servants receive, is after the Modell of their owne Fortune; But the Hurt they sell for that Good, is after the Modell of their Masters Fortune. And certainly, it is the Nature of Extreme *Selfe-Lovers;* As they will set an House on Fire, and it were but to roast their Egges: And yet these Men, many times, hold credit with their Masters; Because their Study is but to please Them, and profit *Themselves:* And for either respect, they will abandon the Good of their Affaires.

Wisedome for a Mans Selfe, is in many Branches thereof, a depraved Thing. It is the *Wisedome of Rats*, that will be sure to leave a House, somewhat before it fall. It is the *Wisedome of the Fox*, that thrusts out the *Badger*, who digged & made Roome for him. It is the *Wisedome of Crocodiles*, that shed teares, when they would devoure. But that which is specially

to be noted, is, that those, which (as *Cicero* saies of *Pompey*) are, *Sui Amantes sine Rivali*, are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their time sacrificed to *Themselves*, they become in the end *themselves* Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune; whose Wings they thought, by their *Self-Wisedome*, to have Pinnioned.

XXIIII

Of Innovations

AS the Births of Living Creatures, at first, are ill shapen: So are all *Innovations*, which are the Births of Time. Yet notwithstanding, as Those that first bring Honour into their Family, are commonly more worthy, then most that succeed: So the first President (if it be good) is seldome attained by Imitation. For Ill, to Mans Nature, as it stands perverted, hath a Naturall Motion, strongest in Continuance: But Good, as a Forced Motion, strongest at first. Surely every *Medicine* is an *Innovation;* And he that will not apply New Remedies, must expect New Evils: For Time is the greatest *Innovatour:* And if Time, of course, alter Things to the worse, and Wisedome, and Counsell shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the End? It is true, that what is setled by Custome, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit. And those Things, which have long gone together, are as it were confederate within themselves: Whereas New Things peece not so well; But though they helpe by their utility, yet they trou-

ble, by their Inconformity. Besides, they are like *Strangers;* more Admired, and lesse Favoured. All this is true, if Time stood still; which contrariwise moveth so round, that a Froward Retention of Custome, is as turbulent a Thing, as an *Innovation:* And they that Reverence too much Old Times, are but a Scorne to the New. It were good therefore, that Men in their *Innovations*, would follow the Example of Time it selfe; which indeed *Innovateth* greatly, but quietly, and by degrees, scarce to be perceived: For otherwise, whatsoever is New, is unlooked for; And ever it mends Some, and paires Other: And he that is holpen, takes it for a Fortune, and thanks the Time; And he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the Author. It is good also, not to try Experiments in States; Except the Necessity be Urgent, or the utility Evident: And well to beware, that it be the Reformation, that draweth on the Change; And not the desire of Change, that pretendeth the Reformation. And lastly, that the *Novelty*, though it be not reiected, yet be held for a Suspect: And, as the Scripture saith; *That we make a stand upon the Ancient Way, and then looke about us, and discover, what is the straight, and right way, and so to walke in it.*

XXV

Of Dispatch

AFFECTED Dispatch, is one of the most dangerous things to Businesse that can be. It is like that, which the Physicians call *Predigestion*, or *Hasty Digestion*; which is sure to fill the Body, full of Crudities, and secret Seeds of Diseases. Therefore, measure not *Dispatch*, by the Times of Sitting, but by the Advancement of the Businesse. And as in Races, it is not the large Stride, or High Lift, that makes the Speed: So in Businesse, the Keeping close to the matter, and not Taking of it too much at once, procureth *Dispatch*. It is the Care of Some, onely to come off speedily, for the time; Or to contrive some false Periods of Businesse, because they may seeme *Men of Dispatch*. But it is one Thing, to Abbreviate by Contracting, Another by Cutting off: And Businesse so handled at severall Sittings or Meetings, goe commonly backward and forward, in an unsteady Manner. I knew a *Wise Man*, that had it for a By-word, when he saw Men hasten to a conclusion; *Stay a little, that we may make an End the sooner.*

On the other side, *True Dispatch* is a rich Thing. For Time is the measure of Businesse, as Money is of Wares: And Businesse is bought at a deare Hand, where there is small *dispatch.* The *Spartans*, and *Spaniards*, have been noted to be of Small *dispatch; Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna; Let my Death come from Spaine;* For then it will be sure to be long in comming.

Give good Hearing to those, that give the first Information in Businesse; And rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches: for he that is put out of his owne Order, will goe forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his Memory, then he could have been, if he had gone on, in his owne course. But sometimes it is seene, that the Moderator is more troublesome, then the Actor.

Iterations are commonly losse of Time: But there is no such Gaine of Time, as to *iterate* often the *State* of the *Question:* For it chaseth away many a Frivolous Speech, as it is comming forth. Long and Curious Speeches, are as fit for *Dispatch*, as a Robe or Mantle with a long Traine, is for Race. Prefaces, and Passages, and Excusations, and other Speeches of Reference to the Person, are great wasts of Time; And though they seeme to proceed of Modesty, they are Bravery. Yet beware of being too Materiall, when there is any Impediment or Obstruction in Mens Wils; For Pre-occupation of Minde, ever requireth preface of Speech; Like a Fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, *Order*, and *Distribution*,

and *Singling* out of *Parts*, is the life of *Dispatch*; So as the *Distribution* be not too subtill: For he that doth not divide, will never enter well into Businesse; And he that divideth too much, will never come out of it clearely. To choose Time, is to save Time; And an Unseasonable Motion is but Beating the Ayre. There be three Parts of Businesse: The *Preparation*; The *Debate*, or *Examination*; And the *Perfection*. Whereof, if you looke for *Dispatch*, let the Middle onely be the Worke of Many, and the First and Last the Worke of Few. The Proceeding upon somewhat conceived in Writing, doth for the most part facilitate *Dispatch*: For though it should be wholly rejected, yet that *Negative* is more pregnant of Direction, then an *Indefinite*; As Ashes are more Generative then Dust.

XXVI

Of Seeming wise

T hath been an Opinion, that the *French* are wiser then they seeme; And the *Spaniards* seeme wiser then they are. But howsoever it be between Nations, certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the *Apostle* saith of *Godlinesse; Having a shew of Godlinesse, but denying the Power thereof;* So certainly, there are in Point of Wisedome, and Sufficiency, that doe Nothing or Little, very solemnly; *Magno conatu Nugas.* It is a Ridiculous Thing, and fit for a Satyre, to Persons of Iudgement, to see what shifts these Formalists have, and what ospectives, to make *Superficies* to seeme *Body*, at hath Depth and Bulke. Some are so Close and Reserved, as they will not shew their Wares, but by a darke Light; And seeme alwaies to keepe backe somewhat: And when they know within themselves, they speake of that they doe not well know, would neverthelesse seeme to others, to know of that, which they may not well speake. Some helpe themselves with Countenance, and Gesture, and are wise by Signes; As *Cicero* saith of *Piso*, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his Browes, up to his Fore-

head, and bent the other downe to his Chin: *Respondes, altero ad Frontem sublato, altero ad Mentum depresso Supercilio; Crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some thinke to beare it, by Speaking a great Word, and being peremptory; And goe on, and take by admittance that, which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seeme to despise or make light of it, as Impertinent, or Curious; And so would have their Ignorance seeme Iudgement. Some are never without a Difference, and commonly by Amusing Men with a Subtilty, blanch the matter; Of whom *A. Gellius* saith; *Hominem delirum, qui Verborum Minutijs Rerum frangit Pondera.* Of which kinde also, *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus*, in Scorne, and maketh him make a Speech, that consisteth of distinctions from the Beginning to the End. Generally, Such Men in all Deliberations, finde ease to be of the Negative Side; and affect a Credit, to obiect and foretell Difficulties: For when propositions are denied, there is an End of them; But if they be allowed, it requireth a New Worke: which false Point of Wisedome, is the Bane of Businesse. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or Inward Beggar, hath so many Tricks, to uphold the Credit of their wealth, as these Empty persons have, to maintaine the Credit of their Sufficiency. *Seeming Wise-men* may make shift to get Opinion: But let no Man choose them for Employment; For certainly, you were better take for Businesse, a Man somewhat Absurd, then over Formall.

XXVII

Of Frendship

IT had beene hard for him that spake it, to have put more Truth and untruth together, in few Words, then in that Speech; *Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wilde Beast, or a God.* For it is most true, that a Naturall and Secret Hatred, and Aversation towards *Society*, in any Man, hath somewhat of the Savage Beast; But it is most Untrue, that it should have any Character, at all, of the Divine Nature; Except it proceed, not out of a Pleasure in *Solitude*, but out of a Love and desire, to sequester a Mans Selfe, for a Higher Conversation: Such as is found, to have been falsely and fainedly, in some of the Heathen; As *Epimenides* the Candian, *Numa* the Roman, *Empedocles* the Sicilian, and *Apollonius* of Tyana; And truly and really, in divers of the Ancient Hermits, and Holy Fathers of the Church. But little doe Men perceive, what *Solitude* is, and how farre it extendeth. For a Crowd is not Company; And Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures; And Talke but a *Tinckling Cymball*,

where there is no *Love*. The Latine Adage meeteth with it a little; *Magna Civitas, Magna solitudo*; Because in a great Towne, *Frends* are scattered; So that there is not that Fellowship, for the most Part, which is in lesse *Neighbourhoods*. But we may goe further, and affirme most truly; That it is a meere, and miserable *Solitude*, to want true *Frends*; without which the World is but a Wildernesse: And even in this sense also of *Solitude*, whosoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections, is unfit for *Frendship*, he taketh it of the Beast, and not from Humanity.

A principall *Fruit* of *Frendship*, is the Ease and Discharge of the Fulnesse and Swellings of the Heart, which Passions of all kinds doe cause and induce. We know Diseases of Stoppings, and Suffocations, are the most dangerous in the body; And it is not much otherwise in the Minde: You may take *Sarza* to open the Liver; *Steele* to open the Spleene; *Flowers of Sulphur* for the Lungs; *Castoreum* for the Braine; But no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true *Frend*; To whom you may impart, Griefes, Ioyes, Feares, Hopes, Suspicions, Counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the Heart, to oppresse it, in a kind of Civill Shrift or Confession.

It is a Strange Thing to observe, how high a Rate, Great Kings and Monarchs, do set upon this *Fruit* of *Frendship*, wherof we speake: So great, as they purchase it, many times, at the hazard of their owne Safety, and Greatnesse. For Princes, in regard of the distance of their Fortune, from that of their Subiects & Servants,

cannot gather this *Fruit;* Except (to make Themselves capable thereof) they raise some Persons, to be as it were Companions, and almost Equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to Inconvenience. The Moderne Languages give unto such Persons, the Name of *Favorites, or Privadoes;* As if it were Matter of Grace, or Conversation. But the Roman Name attaineth the true Use, and Cause thereof; Naming them *Participes Curarum;* For it is that, which tieth the knot. And we see plainly, that this hath been done, not by Weake and Passionate *Princes* onely, but by the Wisest, and most Politique that ever reigned; Who have oftentimes ioyned to themselves, some of their Servants; Whom both Themselves have called *Frends;* And allowed Others likewise to call them in the same manner; Using the Word which is received between Private Men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded *Rome,* raised *Pompey* (after surnamed the *Great*) to that Heigth, that *Pompey* vaunted Himselfe for *Sylla's* Overmatch. For when he had carried the *Consulship* for a Frend of his, against the pursuit of *Sylla,* and that *Sylla* did a little resent thereat, and began to speake great, *Pompey* turned upon him againe, and in effect bad him be quiet; *For that more Men adored the Sunne Rising, then the Sunne setting.* With *Iulius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus* had obtained that Interest, as he set him downe, in his Testament, for Heire in Remainder, after his *Nephew.* And this was the Man, that had power with him, to draw him forth to his death. For when *Cæsar* would have

discharged the Senate, in regard of some ill Presages, and specially a Dreame of *Calpurnia*; This Man lifted him gently by the Arme, out of his Chaire, telling him, he hoped he would not dismisse the Senate, till his wife had dreamt a better Dreame. And it seemeth, his favour was so great, as *Antonius* in a Letter, which is recited *Verbatim*, in one of *Cicero's Philippiques*, calleth him *Venefica*, *Witch*; As if he had enchanted *Cæsar*. *Augustus* raised *Agrippa* (though of meane Birth) to that Heighth, as when he consulted with *Mæcenas*, about the Marriage of his Daughter *Iulia*, *Mæcenas* tooke the Liberty to tell him; *That he must either marry his Daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life, there was no third way, he had made him so great*. With *Tiberius Cæsar*, *Seianus* had ascended to that Height, as they Two were tearmed and reckoned, as a Paire of Frends. *Tiberius* in a Letter to him saith; *Hæc pro Amicitiâ nostrâ non occultavi*; And the whole Senate, dedicated an Altar to *Frendship*, as to a *Goddesse*, in respect of the great Dearenesse of *Frendship*, between them Two. The like or more was between *Septimius Severus*, and *Plautianus*. For he forced his Eldest Sonne to marry the Daughter of *Plautianus*; And would often maintaine *Plautianus*, in doing Affronts to his Son: And did write also in a Letter to the Senate, by these Words; *I love the Man so well, as I wish he may over-live me*. Now if these Princes, had beene as a *Traian*, or a *Marcus Aurelius*, A Man might have thought, that this had proceeded of an abundant Goodnesse of Nature;

But being Men so Wise, of such Strength and Severitie of minde, and so Extreme Lovers of Themselves, as all these were; It proveth most plainly, that they found their owne Felicitie (though as great as ever happened to Mortall Men) but as an Halfe Peece, except they mought have a *Frend* to make it Entire: And yet, which is more, they were *Princes*, that had Wives, Sonnes, Nephews; And yet all these could not supply the Comfort of *Frendship*.

It is not to be forgotten, what *Commineus* observeth, of his first Master *Duke Charles the Hardy*; Namely, that hee would communicate his Secrets with none; And least of all, those Secrets, which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, That towards his Latter time; *That closenesse did impaire, and a little perish his understanding*. Surely *Commineus* mought have made the same Iudgement also, if it had pleased him, of his Second Master *Lewis the Eleventh*, whose closenesse was indeed his Tormentour. The Parable of *Pythagoras* is darke, but true; *Cor ne edito; Eat not the Heart*. Certainly, if a Man would give it a hard Phrase, Those that want *Frends* to open themselves unto, are Canniballs of their owne *Hearts*. But one Thing is most Admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this first *Fruit* of *frendship*) which is, that this Communicating of a Mans Selfe to his *Frend*, works two contrarie Effects; For it redoubleth *Ioyes*, and cutteth *Griefes* in Halfes. For there is no Man, that imparteth his *Ioyes* to his *Frend*, but he *ioyeth* the more; And no Man, that imparteth his *Griefes* to his *Frend*,

but hee *grieveth* the lesse. So that it is, in Truth of Operation upon a Mans Minde, of like vertue, as the *Alchymists* use to attribute to their Stone, for Mans Bodie; That it worketh all Contrary Effects, but still to the Good, and Benefit of Nature. But yet, without praying in Aid of *Alchymists*, there is a manifest Image of this, in the ordinarie course of Nature. For in Bodies, *Union* strengthneth and cherisheth any Naturall Action; And, on the other side, weakneth and dulleth any violent Impression: And even so is it of Minds.

The second *Fruit of Frendship*, is Healthfull and Soveraigne for the *Understanding*, as the first is for the *Affections*. For *Frendship* maketh indeed a *faire Day* in the *Affections*, from Storme and Tempests: But it maketh *Daylight* in the *Understanding*, out of Darknesse & Confusion of Thoughts. Neither is this to be understood, onely of Faithfull Counsell, which a Man receiveth from his *Frend;* But before you come to that, certaine it is, that whosoever hath his Minde fraught, with many Thoughts, his Wits and Understanding doe clarifie and breake up, in the Communicating and discoursing with Another: He tosseth his Thoughts, more easily; He marshalleth them more orderly; He seeth how they looke when they are turned into Words; Finally, He waxeth wiser then Himselfe; And that more by an Houres discourse, then by a Dayes Meditation. It was well said by *Themistocles* to the King of *Persia; That speech was like Cloth of Arras, opened, and put abroad; Whereby the Imagery doth appeare in Figure;*

whereas in Thoughts, they lie but as in Packs. Neither is this Second *Fruit* of *Frendship*, in opening the *Understanding*, restrained onely to such *Frends*, as are able to give a Man Counsell: (They indeed are best) But even, without that, a Man learneth of Himselfe, and bringeth his owne Thoughts to Light, and whetteth his Wits as against a Stone, which it selfe cuts not. In a word, a Man were better relate himselfe, to a Statua, or Picture, then to suffer his Thoughts to passe in smother.

Adde now, to make this Second *Fruit* of *Frendship* compleat, that other Point, which lieth more open, and falleth within Vulgar Observation; which is *Faithfull Counsell* from a *Frend. Heraclitus* saith well, in one of his Ænigmaes; *Dry Light is ever the best.* And certaine it is, that the Light, that a man receiveth, by Counsell from Another, is Drier, and purer, then that which commeth from his owne Understanding, and Iudgement; which is ever infused and drenched in his Affections and Customes. So as, there is as much difference, betweene the *Counsell*, that a *Frend* giveth, and that a Man giveth himselfe, as there is between the *Counsell* of a *Frend*, and of a *Flatterer*. For there is no such *Flatterer*, as is a Mans Selfe; And there is no such Remedy, against *Flattery* of a Mans Selfe, as the Liberty of a *Frend*. *Counsell* is of two Sorts; The one concerning *Manners*, the other concerning *Businesse*. For the First; The best Preservative to keepe the Minde in Health, is the faithfull Admonition of *Frend*. The Calling of a Mans Selfe, to a

Strict Account, is a Medicine, sometime, too Piercing and Corrosive. Reading good Bookes of *Morality*, is a little Flat, and Dead. Observing our Faults in Others, is sometimes unproper for our Case. But the best Receipt (best (I say) to worke, and best to take) is the Admonition of a *Frend*. It is a strange thing to behold, what grosse Errours, and extreme Absurdities, Many (especially of the greater Sort) doe commit, for want of a *Frend*, to tell them of them; To the great dammage, both of their Fame, & Fortune. For, as *S. Iames* saith, they are as Men, *that looke sometimes into a Glasse, and presently forget their own Shape, & Favour.* As for *Businesse*, a Man may think, if he will, that two Eyes see no more then one; Or that a Gamester seeth alwaies more then a Looker on; Or that a Man in Anger, is as Wise as he, that hath said over the foure and twenty Letters; Or that a Musket may be shot off, aswell upon the Arme, as upon a Rest; And such other fond and high Imaginations, to thinke Himselfe All in All. But when all is done, the Helpe of good *Counsell*, is that, which setteth *Businesse* straight. And if any Man thinke, that he will take *Counsell*, but it shall be by Peeces: Asking *Counsell* in one Businesse of one Man, and in another Businesse of another Man; It is well, (that is to say, better perhaps then if he asked none at all;) but he runneth two dangers: One, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; For it is a rare Thing, except it be from a perfect and entire *Frend*, to have Counsell given, but such as shalbe bowed and crooked to some ends, which he hath that

giveth it. The other, that he shall have Counsell given, hurtfull, and unsafe, (though with good Meaning) and mixt, partly of Mischiefe, and partly of Remedy: Even as if you would call a Physician, that is thought good, for the Cure of the Disease, you complaine of, but is unacquainted with your body; And therefore, may put you in way for a present Cure, but overthroweth your Health in some other kinde; And so cure the Disease, and kill the Patient. But a *Frend*, that is wholly acquainted with a Mans Estate, will beware by furthering any present *Businesse*, how he dasheth upon other Inconvenience. And therefore, rest not upon *Scattered Counsels;* They will rather distract, and Misleade, then Settle, and Direct.

After these two Noble *Fruits of Frendship; (Peace in the Affections*, and *Support of the Judgement,)* followeth the last *Fruit;* which is like the *Pomgranat*, full of many kernels; I meane *Aid*, and *Bearing a Part*, in all *Actions*, and *Occasions*. Here, the best Way, to represent to life the manifold use of *Frendship*, is to cast and see, how many Things there are, which a Man cannot doe Himselfe; And then it will appeare, that it was a Sparing Speech of the Ancients, to say, *That a Frend is another Himselfe:* For that a *Frend* is farre more then *Himselfe*. Men have their Time, and die many times in desire of some Things, which they principally take to Heart; The bestowing of a Child, The Finishing of a Worke, Or the like. If a Man have a true *Frend*, he may rest almost secure, that the Care of those Things, will con-

tinue after Him. So that a Man hath as it were two Lives in his desires. A Man hath a Body, and that Body is confined to a Place; But where *Frendship* is, all Offices of Life, are as it were granted to Him, and his Deputy. For he may exercise them by his *Frend*. How many Things are there, which a Man cannot, with any Face or Comelines, say or doe Himselfe? A Man can scarce alledge his owne Merits with modesty, much lesse extoll them: A man cannot sometimes brooke to Supplicate or Beg: And a number of the like. But all these Things, are Gracefull in a *Frends* Mouth, which are Blushing in a Mans Owne. So againe, a Mans Person hath many proper Relations, which he cannot put off. A Man cannot speake to his Sonne, but as a Father; To his Wife, but as a Husband; To his Enemy, but upon Termes: whereas a *Frend* may speak, as the Case requires, and not as it sorteth with the Person. But to enumerate these Things were endlesse: I have given the Rule, where a Man cannot fitly play his owne Part: If he have not a *Frend*, he may quit the Stage.

XXVIII

Of Expence

RICHES are for Spending; And Spending for Honour and good Actions. Therefore *Extraordinary Expence* must be limitted by the Worth of the Occasion: For *Voluntary Undoing*, may be aswell for a Mans *Country*, as for the *Kingdome of Heaven*. But *Ordinary Expence* ought to be limitted by a Mans Estate; And governed with such regard, as it be within his Compasse; And not subiect to Deceit and Abuse of Servants; And ordered to the best Shew, that the Bils may be lesse, then the Estimation abroad. Certainly, if a Man will keep but of Even hand, his *Ordinary Expences* ought to be, but to the Halfe of his Receipts; And if he thinke to waxe Rich, but to the Third Part. It is no Basenesse, for the Greatest, to descend and looke, into their owne *Estate*. Some forbeare it, not upon Negligence alone, But doubting to bring Themselves into Melancholy, in respect they shall finde it Broken. But Wounds cannot be Cured without Searching. He that cannot looke into his own Estate at all, had need

both Choose well, those whom he employeth, and change them often: For New are more Timorous, and lesse Subtile. He that can looke into his Estate but seldome, it behoveth him to turne all to Certainties. A Man had need, if he be Plentifull, in some kinde of *Expence*, to be as Saving againe, in some other. As if he be Plentifull in Diet, to be Saving in Apparell: If he be Plentifull in the Hall, to be Saving in the Stable: And the like. For he that is Plentifull in *Expences* of all Kindes, will hardly be preserved from Decay: In Clearing of a Mans Estate, he may as well hurt Himselfe in being too sudden, as in letting it runne on too long. For hasty Selling is commonly as Disadvantageable as Interest. Besides, he that cleares at once, will relapse; For finding himselfe out of Straights, he will revert to his Customes: But hee that cleareth by Degrees, induceth a Habite of Frugalitie, and gaineth as well upon his Minde, as upon his Estate. Certainly, who hath a State to repaire, may not despise small Things: And commonly, it is lesse dishonourable, to abridge pettie Charges, then to stoope to pettie Gettings. A Man ought warily to beginne Charges, which once begun will Continue: But in Matters, that returne not, he may be more Magnificent.

XXIX

Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates

THE Speech of *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, which was Haughtie and Arrogant, in taking so much to Himselfe, had been a Grave and Wise Observation and Censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he said; *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small Towne, a great Citty.* These Words (holpen a little with a Metaphore) may expresse two differing Abilities, in those that deale in Businesse of Estate. For if a true Survey be taken, of Counsellours and Statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those, which can make a *Small State Great*, and yet cannot *Fiddle:* As on the other side, there will be found a great many, that can *fiddle* very cunningly, but yet are so farre from being able, to make *a Small State Great*, as their Gift lieth the other way; To bring a Great and Flourishing Estate to Ruine and Decay. And certainly, those Degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Coun-

sellours and Governours, gaine both *Favour* with their Masters, and Estimation with the Vulgar, deserve no better Name then *Fidling;* Being Things, rather pleasing for the time, and gracefull to themselves onely, then tending to the Weale and Advancement of the State, which they serve. There are also (no doubt) Counsellours and Governours, which may be held sufficient, (*Negotijs pares*,) Able to mannage Affaires, and to keepe them from *Precipices*, and manifest Inconveniences; which neverthelesse, are farre from the Abilitie, to raise and Amplifie an Estate, in Power, Meanes, and Fortune. But be the worke-men what they may be, let us speake of the Worke; That is; The true *Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates;* and the *Meanes* thereof. An Argument, fit for Great and Mightie Princes, to have in their hand; To the end, that neither by Over-measuring their Forces, they leese themselves in vaine Enterprises; Nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to Fearefull and Pusillanimous Counsells.

The *Greatnesse* of an Estate in Bulke and Territorie, doth fall under Measure; And the *Greatnesse* of Finances and Revenew doth fall under Computation. The Population may appeare by Musters: And the Number and Greatnesse of Cities and Townes, by Cards and Maps. But yet there is not any Thing amongst Civill Affaires, more subiect to Errour, then the right valuation, and true Iudgement, concerning the Power and Forces of an Estate. The *Kingdome* of *Heaven* is compared, not to any great

Kernell or Nut, but to a *Graine* of *Mustard-seed;* which is one of the least Graines, but hath in it a Propertie and Spirit, hastily to get up and spread. So are there States, great in Territorie, and yet not apt to Enlarge, or Command; And some, that have but a small Dimension of Stemme, and yet apt to be the Foundations of Great Monarchies.

Walled Townes, Stored Arcenalls and Armouries, Goodly Races of Horse, Chariots of Warre, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery, and the like: All this is but a Sheep in a Lions Skin, except the Breed and disposition of the People, be stout and warlike. Nay Number (it selfe) in Armies, importeth not much, where the People is of weake Courage: For (as *Virgil* saith) *It never troubles a Wolfe, how many the sheepe be.* The Armie of the *Persians*, in the Plaines of *Arbela*, was such a vast Sea of People, as it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in *Alexanders* Armie; Who came to him therefore, and wisht him, to set upon them by Night; But hee answered, *He would not pilfer the Victory.* And the Defeat was Easie. When *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, being incamped upon a Hill, with 400000. Men, discovered the Armie of the *Romans*, being not above 14000. Marching towards him, he made himselfe Merry with it, and said; *Yonder Men, are too Many for an Ambassage, and too Few for a Fight.* But before the Sunne sett, he found them enough, to give him the Chace, with infinite Slaughter. Many are the Examples, of the great oddes between Number and Courage: So that a Man

may truly make a Iudgement; That the Principal Point of *Greatnesse* in any *State*, is to have a Race of Military Men. Neither is Money the Sinewes of Warre, (as it is trivially said) where the Sinewes of Mens Armes, in Base and Effeminate People, are failing. For *Solon* said well to *Crœsus* (when in Ostentation he shewed him his Gold) *Sir, if any Other come, that hath better Iron then you, he will be Master of all this Gold.* Therfore let any Prince or State, thinke soberly of his Forces, except his *Militia* of Natives, be of good and Valiant Soldiers. And let Princes, on the other side, that have Subiects of Martiall disposition, know their owne Strength; unlesse they be otherwise wanting unto Themselves. As for *Mercenary Forces*, (which is the Helpe in this Case) all Examples shew; That, whatsoever Estate or Prince doth rest upon them; *Hee may spread his Feathers for a time, but he will mew them soone after.*

The *Blessing* of *Iudah* and *Issachar* will never meet; *That the same People or Nation, should be both The Lions whelpe, and the Asse betweene Burthens:* Neither will it be, that a People over-laid with *Taxes*, should ever become Valiant, and Martiall. It is true, that *Taxes* levied by Consent of the Estate, doe abate Mens Courage lesse; As it hath beene seene notably, in the *Excises* of the *Low Countries;* And in some degree, in the *Subsidies* of *England.* For you must note, that we speake now, of the Heart, and not of the Purse. So that, although the same *Tribute* and *Tax*, laid by Consent, or by Imposing, be all one to the

Purse, yet it workes diversly upon the Courage. So that you may conclude; *That no People, over-charged with Tribute, is fit for Empire.*

Let States that aime at *Greatnesse*, take heed how their *Nobility* and *Gentlemen*, doe multiply too fast. For that maketh the Common Subiect, grow to be a Peasant, and Base Swaine, driven out of Heart, and in effect but the *Gentlemans* Labourer. Even as you may see in Coppice Woods; *If you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have cleane Underwood, but Shrubs and Bushes.* So in Countries, if the *Gentlemen* be too many, the *Commons* will be base; And you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll, will be fit for an Helmet: Especially as to the *Infantery*, which is the Nerve of an Army: And so there will be Great Population, and Little Strength. This, which I speake of, hath been no where better seen, then by comparing of *England* and *France;* whereof *England*, though farre lesse in Territory and Population, hath been (neverthelesse) an Overmatch; In regard, the *Middle People* of *England*, make good Souldiers, which the *Peasants* of *France* doe not. And herein, the device of King *Henry* the Seventh, (whereof I have spoken largely in the *History of his Life*) was Profound, and Admirable; In making Farmes, and houses of Husbandry, of a Standard; That is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land unto them, as may breed a Subiect, to live in Convenient Plenty, and no Servile Condition; And to keepe the Plough in the Hands of the Owners, and not meere Hirelings. And thus indeed, you

shall attaine to *Virgils* Character, which he gives to Ancient *Italy*.

—*Terra potens Armis atque ubere Glebæ.*

Neither is that State (which for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to *England*, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in *Poland*) to be passed over; I meane the State of *Free Servants* and *Attendants* upon *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen;* which are no waies inferiour, unto the *Yeomanry*, for Armes. And therefore, out of all Question, the Splendour, and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hospitality of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, received into Custome, doth much conduce, unto *Martiall Greatnesse*. Whereas, contrariwise, the Close and Reserved living, of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, causeth a Penury of *Military Forces*.

By all meanes, it is to be procured, that the *Trunck* of *Nebuchadnezzars* Tree of *Monarchy*, be great enough, to beare the Branches, and the Boughes; That is, That the *Naturall Subiects* of the Crowne or State, beare a sufficient Proportion, to the *Stranger Subiects*, that they governe. Therfore all States, that are liberall of Naturalization towards Strangers, are fit for *Empire*. For to thinke, that an Handfull of People, can, with the greatest Courage, and Policy in the World, embrace too large Extent of Dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will faile suddainly. The *Spartans* were a nice People, in Point of Naturalization; whereby, while they kept their Compasse, they stood firme; But when they did spread, and their Boughs were becommen too great, for their Stem, they

became a Windfall upon the suddaine. Never any State was, in this Point, so open to receive *Strangers*, into their Body, as were the *Romans*. Therefore it sorted with them accordingly; For they grew to the greatest *Monarchy*. Their manner was, to grant Naturalization, (which they called *Ius Civitatis*) and to grant it in the highest Degree; That is, Not onely *Ius Commercij*, *Ius Connubij*, *Ius Hæreditatis*; But also, *Ius Suffragij*, and *Ius Honorum*. And this, not to Singular Persons alone, but likewise to whole Families; yea to Cities, and sometimes to Nations. Adde to this, their Custome of *Plantation* of *Colonies*; whereby the Roman Plant, was removed into the Soile, of other Nations. And putting both Constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the *Romans* that spred upon the *World*; But it was the *World*, that spred upon the *Romans*: And that was the sure Way of *Greatnesse*. I have marveiled sometimes at *Spaine*, how they claspe and containe so large Dominions, with so few Naturall *Spaniards*: But sure, the whole Compasse of *Spaine*, is a very Great Body of a Tree; Farre above *Rome*, and *Sparta*, at the first. And besides, though they have not had that usage, to Naturalize liberally; yet they have that, which is next to it; That is, *To employ, almost indifferently, all Nations, in their Militia of ordinary Soldiers*: yea, and sometimes in their *Highest Commands*. Nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are sensible of this want of Natives; as by the *Pragmaticall Sanction*, now published, appeareth.

It is certaine, that *Sedentary*, and *Within-doore Arts*, and delicate Manufactures (that require rather the Finger, then the Arme) have, in their Nature, a Contrariety, to a Military disposition. And generally, all Warlike People, are a little idle; And love Danger better then Travaile: Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore, it was great Advantage, in the Ancient States of *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Rome*, and others, that they had the use of *Slaves*, which commonly did rid those Manufactures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the *Christian Law*. That which commeth nearest to it, is, to leave those Arts chiefly to Strangers, (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received) and to containe, the principall Bulke of the vulgar Natives, within those three kinds; *Tillers* of the Ground; *Free Servants*; & *Handy-Crafts-Men*, of Strong, & Manly Arts, as Smiths, Masons, Carpenters, &c; Not reckoning Professed Souldiers.

But above all, for *Empire* and *Greatnesse*, it importeth most; That a Nation doe professe Armes, as their principall Honour, Study, and Occupation. For the Things, which we formerly have spoken of, are but *Habilitations* towards Armes: And what is *Habilitation* without *Intention* and *Act?* *Romulus*, after his death (as they report, or faigne) sent a Present to the *Romans*; That, above all, they should intend Armes; And then, they should prove the greatest *Empire* of the World. The Fabrick of the State of *Sparta*, was wholly (though not wisely)

framed, and composed, to that Scope and End. The *Persians*, and *Macedonians*, had it for a flash. The *Galls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, and others, had it for a Time. The *Turks* have it, at this day, though in great Declination. Of Christian *Europe*, they that have it, are, in effect, onely the *Spaniards*. But it is so plaine, *That every Man profiteth in that hee most intendeth*, that it needeth not to be stood upon. It is enough to point at it; That no Nation, which doth not directly professe Armes, may looke to have *Greatnesse* fall into their Mouths. And, on the other side, it is a most Certaine Oracle of Time; That those States, that continue long in that Profession (as the *Romans* and *Turks* principally have done) do wonders. And those, that have professed Armes but for an Age, have notwithstanding, commonly, attained that *Greatnesse* in that Age, which maintained them long after, when their Profession and Exercise of Armes hath growen to decay.

Incident to this Point is; For a State, to have those Lawes or Customes, which may reach forth unto them, iust Occasions (as may be pretended) of Warre. For there is that Iustice imprinted, in the Nature of Men, that they enter not upon Wars (whereof so many Calamities doe ensue) but upon some, at the least Specious, Grounds and Quarells. The *Turke*, hath at hand, for Cause of Warre, the Propagation of his Law or Sect; A Quarell that he may alwaies Command. The *Romans*, though they esteemed, the Extending the Limits of their Empire, to be

great Honour to their Generalls, when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone, to begin a Warre. First therefore, let Nations, that pretend to *Greatnesse*, have this; That they be sensible of Wrongs, either upon Borderers, Merchants, or Politique Ministers; And that they sit not too long upon a Provocation. Secondly, let them be prest, and ready, to give Aids and Succours, to their Confederates: As it ever was with the *Romans:* In so much, as if the Confederate, had Leagues Defensive with divers other States, and upon Invasion offered, did implore their Aides severally, yet the *Romans* would ever bee the formost, and leave it to none Other to have the Honour. As for the Warres, which were anciently made, on the behalfe, of a kinde of Partie, or tacite Conformitie of Estate, I doe not see how they may be well iustified: As when the *Romans* made a Warre for the Libertie of *Grecia:* Or when the *Lacedemonians*, and *Athenians*, made Warres, to set up or pull downe *Democracies*, and *Oligarchies:* Or when Warres were made by Forrainers, under the pretence of Iustice, or Protection, to deliver the Subiects of others, from Tyrannie, and Oppression; And the like. Let it suffice, That no Estate expect to be *Great*, that is not awake, upon any iust Occasion of Arming.

No Body can be healthfull without *Exercise*, neither Naturall Body, nor Politique: And certainly, to a Kingdome or Estate, a Iust and Honourable Warre, is the true *Exercise*. A Civill Warre, indeed, is like the Heat of a Feaver; But a Forraine Warre, is like the Heat of *Exercise*,

and serveth to keepe the Body in Health: For in a Slothfull Peace, both Courages will effeminate, and Manners Corrupt. But howsoever it be for Happinesse, without all Question, for *Greatnesse*, it maketh, to bee still, for the most Part, in Armes: And the Strength of a Veteran Armie, (though it be a chargeable Businesse) alwaies on Foot, is that, which commonly giveth the Law; Or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbour States; As may well bee seene in *Spaine;* which hath had, in one Part, or other, a Veteran Armie, almost continually, now by the Space of Six-score yeeres.

To be Master of the *Sea*, is an Abridgement of a Monarchy. *Cicero* writing to *Atticus*, of *Pompey* his *Preparation* against *Cæsar*, saith; *Consilium Pompeij planè Themistocleum est; Putat enim, qui Mari potitur, eum Rerum potiri.* And, without doubt, *Pompey* had tired out *Cæsar*, if upon vaine Confidence, he had not left that Way. We see the great Effects of Battailes by *Sea*. The Battaile of *Actium* decided the Empire of the World. The Battaile of *Lepanto* arrested the Greatnesse of the *Turke*. There be many Examples, where *Sea-Fights* have beene Finall to the warre; But this is, when Princes or States, have set up their Rest, upon the Battailes. But thus much is certaine; That hee that Commands the *Sea*, is at great liberty, and may take as much, and as little of the Warre, as he will. Whereas those, that be strongest by land, are many times neverthelesse in great Straights. Surely, at this Day, with us of *Europe*, the Vantage of Strength at *Sea*

(which is one of the Principall Dowries of this Kingdome of *Great Brittaine*) is Great: Both because, Most of the Kingdomes of *Europe*, are not meerely Inland, but girt with the *Sea*, most part of their Compasse; And because, the Wealth of both *Indies*, seemes in great Part, but an Accessary, to the Command of the *Seas*.

The *Warres* of *Latter Ages*, seeme to be made in the Darke, in Respect of the Glory and Honour, which reflected upon Men, from the *Warres* in *Ancient Time*. There be now, for Martiall Encouragement, some Degrees and Orders of Chivalry; which neverthelesse, are conferred promiscuously, upon Soldiers, & no Soldiers; And some Remembrance perhaps upon the Scutchion; And some Hospitals for Maimed Soldiers; And such like Things. But in Ancient Times; The *Trophies* erected upon the Place of the Victory; The Funerall Laudatives and Monuments for those that died in the Wars; The Crowns and Garlands Personal; The Stile of Emperor, which the Great Kings of the World after borrowed; The Triumphes of the Generalls upon their Returne; The great Donatives and Largesses upon the Disbanding of the Armies; were Things able to enflame all Mens Courages. But above all, That of the Triumph, amongst the *Romans*, was not Pageants or Gaudèrie, but one of the Wisest and Noblest Institutions, that ever was. For it contained three Things; Honour to the Generall; Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoiles; And Donatives to the Army. But that Honour, perhaps, were not fit for *Monarchies*; Except it be

in the Person of the *Monarch* himselfe, or his Sonnes; As it came to passe, in the Times of the *Roman Emperours*, who did impropriate the Actuall Triumphs to Themselves, and their Sonnes, for such Wars, as they did atchieve in Person: And left onely, for Wars atchieved by Subiects, some Triumphall Garments, and Ensignes, to the Generall.

To conclude; No Man can, by *Care taking* (as the *Scripture* saith) *adde a Cubite to his Stature;* in this little Modell of a *Mans Body:* But in the Great Frame of *Kingdomes,* & *Common Wealths,* it is in the power of Princes, or Estates, to adde Amplitude and *Greatnesse* to their *Kingdomes.* For by introducing such Ordinances, Constitutions, and Customes, as we have now touched, they may sow *Greatnesse,* to their Posteritie, and Succession. But these Things are commonly not Observed, but left to take their Chance.

XXX

Of Regiment of Health

THERE is a wisdome in this, beyond the Rules of *Physicke:* A Mans owne Observation, what he findes Good of, and what he findes Hurt of, is the best *Physicke* to preserve Health. But it is a safer Conclusion to say; *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it;* Then this; *I finde no offence of this, therefore I may use it.* For Strength of Nature in youth, passeth over many Excesses, which are owing a Man till his Age. Discerne of the comming on of Yeares, and thinke not, to doe the same Things still; For Age will not be Defied. Beware of sudden Change in any great point of Diet, and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a Secret, both in Nature, and State; That it is safer to change Many Things, then one. Examine thy Customes, of Diet, Sleepe, Exercise, Apparell, and the like; And trie in any Thing, thou shalt iudge hurtfull, to discontinue it by little and little; But so, as if thou doest finde any Inconvenience by the Change, thou come backe to it againe: For it

is hard to distinguish, that which is generally held good, and wholesome, from that, which is good particularly, and fit for thine owne Body. To be free minded, and cheerefully disposed, at Houres of Meat, and of Sleep, and of Exercise, is one of the best Precepts of Long lasting. As for the Passions and Studies of the Minde; Avoid Envie; Anxious Feares; Anger fretting inwards; Subtill and knottie Inquisitions; Ioyes, and Exhilarations in Excesse; Sadnesse not Communicated. Entertaine Hopes; Mirth rather then Ioy; Varietie of Delights, rather then Surfet of them; Wonder, and Admiration, and therefore Novelties; Studies that fill the Minde with Splendide and Illustrious Obiects, as Histories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature. If you flie Physicke in *Health* altogether, it will be too strange for your Body, when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will worke no Extraordinary Effect, when Sicknesse commeth. I commend rather, some Diet, for certaine Seasons, then frequent Use of *Physicke*, Except it be growen into a Custome. For those Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it lesse. Despise no new Accident, in your Body, but aske Opinion of it. In *Sicknesse*, respect *Health* principally; And in *Health*, *Action*. For those that put their Bodies, to endure in *Health*, may in most *Sicknesses*, which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with Diet, and Tendering. *Celsus* could never have spoken it as a *Physician*, had he not been a Wise Man withall; when he giveth it, for one of the great precepts of Health and Lasting; That a Man doe vary, and enterchange

Contraries; But with an Inclination to the more benigne Extreme: Use Fasting, and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting, and Exercise, but rather Exercise; and the like. So shall Nature be cherished, and yet taught Masteries. *Physicians* are some of them so pleasing, and conformable to the Humor of the Patient, as they presse not the true Cure of the Disease; And some other are so Regular, in proceeding according to Art, for the Disease, as they respect not sufficiently the Condition of the Patient. Take one of a Middle Temper; Or if it may not be found in one Man, combine two of either sort: And forget not to call, aswell the best acquainted with your Body, as the best reputed of for his Faculty.

XXXI

Of Suspicion

SUSPICIONS amongst Thoughts, are like Bats amongst Birds, they ever fly by Twilight. Certainly, they are to be repressed, or, at the least, well guarded: For they cloud the Minde; they leese Frends; and they checke with Businesse, whereby Businesse cannot goe on, currantly, and constantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to Iealousie, Wise Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are Defects, not in the Heart, but in the Braine; For they take Place in the Stoutest Natures: As in the Example of *Henry* the Seventh of *England:* There was not a more *Suspicious* Man, nor a more Stout. And in such a Composition, they doe small Hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with Examination, whether they be likely or no? But in fearefull Natures, they gaine Ground too fast. There is Nothing makes a Man *Suspect* much, more then to Know little: And therefore Men should remedy *Suspicion*, by procuring to know more, and not to keep their *Suspicions* in Smother. What would Men have? Doe they

thinke, those they employ and deale with, are Saints? Doe they not thinke, they will have their owne Ends, and be truer to Themselves, then to them? Therefore, there is no better Way to moderate *Suspicions*, then to account upon such *Suspicions* as true, and yet to bridle them, as false. For so farre, a Man ought to make use of *Suspicions*, as to provide, as if that should be true, that he *Suspects*, yet it may doe him no Hurt. *Suspicions*, that the Minde, of it selfe, gathers, are but Buzzes; But *Suspicions*, that are artificially nourished, and put into Mens Heads, by the Tales, and Whisprings of others, have Stings. Certainly, the best Meane, to cleare the Way, in this same Wood of *Suspicions*, is franckly to communicate them, with the Partie, that he *Suspects*: For thereby, he shall be sure, to know more of the Truth of them, then he did before; And withall, shall make that Party, more circumspect, not to give further Cause of *Suspicion*. But this would not be done to Men of base Natures: For they, if they finde themselves once suspected, will never be true. The *Italian* saies: *Sospetto licentia fede*: As if *Suspicion* did give a Pasport to Faith: But it ought rather to kindle it, to discharge it selfe.

XXXII

Of Discourse

SOME in their *Discourse*, desire rather Commendation of Wit, in being able to hold all Arguments, then of Iudgment, in discerning what is True: As if it were a Praise, to know what might be Said, and not what should be Thought. Some have certaine Common Places, and Theames, wherein they are good, and want Variety: Which kinde of Poverty is for the most part Tedious, and when it is once perceived Ridiculous. The Honourablest Part of Talke, is to give the Occasion; And againe to Moderate and passe to somewhat else; For then a Man leads the Daunce. It is good, in *Discourse*, and Speech of Conversation, to vary, and entermingle Speech, of the present Occasion with Arguments; Tales with Reasons; Asking of Questions, with telling of Opinions; and Iest with Earnest: For it is a dull Thing to Tire, and, as we say now, to Iade, any Thing too farre. As for Iest, there be certaine Things, which ought to be priviledged from it; Namely Religion, Matters of State, Great Persons, Any

Mans present Businesse of Importance, And any Case that deserveth Pitty. Yet there be some, that thinke their Wits have been asleepe; Except they dart out somewhat, that is Piquant, and to the Quicke: That is a Vaine, which would be brideled;

Parce Puer stimulis, & fortiùs utere Loris.

And generally, Men ought to finde the difference, between Saltnesse and Bitternesse. Certainly, he that hath a Satyricall vaine, as he maketh others afraid of his Wit, so he had need be afraid of others Memory. He that questioneth much, shall learne much, and content much; But especially, if he apply his Questions, to the Skill of the Persons, whom he asketh: For he shall give them occasion, to please themselves in Speaking, and himselfe shall continually gather Knowledge. But let his Questions, not be troublesome; For that is fit for a Poser. And let him be sure, to leave other Men their Turnes to speak. Nay, if there be any, that would raigne, and take up all the time, let him finde meanes to take them off, and to bring Others on; As Musicians use to doe, with those, that dance too long Galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge, of that you are thought to know; you shall be thought another time, to know that, you know not. Speach of a Mans Selfe ought to be seldome, and well chosen. I knew One, was wont to say, in Scorne; *He must needs be a Wise Man, he speakes so much of Himselfe:* And there is but one Case, wherein a Man may Commend Himselfe, with

good Grace; And that is in commending Vertue in Another; Especially, if it be such a Vertue, whereunto Himselfe pretendeth. Speech of Touch towards Others, should be sparingly used: For *Discourse* ought to be as a Field, without comming home to any Man. I knew two *Noblemen*, of the West Part of *England;* Whereof the one was given to Scoffe, but kept ever Royal Cheere in his House: The other, would aske of those, that had beene at the Others Table; *Tell truely, was there never a Flout or drie Blow given;* To which the Guest would answer; *Such and such a Thing passed:* The Lord would say; *I thought he would marre a good Dinner. Discretion* of *Speech*, is more then *Eloquence;* And to speak agreeably to him, with whom we deale, is more then to speake in good Words, or in good Order. A good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, shews Slownesse: And a Good Reply, or Second Speech, without a good Setled Speech, sheweth Shallownesse and Weaknesse. As we see in Beasts, that those that are Weakest in the Course, are yet Nimblest in the Turne: As it is betwixt the Grey-hound, & the Hare. To use too many Circumstances, ere one come to the Matter, is Wearisome; To use none at all, is Blunt.

XXXIII

Of Plantations

PLANTATIONS are amongst Ancient, Primitive, and Heroicall Workes. When the World was young, it begate more Children; But now it is old, it begets fewer: For I may iustly account new *Plantations*, to be the Children of former Kingdomes. I like a *Plantation* in a Pure Soile; that is, where People are not *Displanted*, to the end, to *Plant* in Others. For else, it is rather an Extirpation, then a *Plantation*. *Planting* of Countries, is like *Planting* of Woods; For you must make account, to leese almost Twenty yeeres Profit, and expect your Recompence, in the end. For the Principall Thing, that hath beene the Destruction of most *Plantations*, hath beene the Base, and Hastie drawing of Profit, in the first Yeeres. It is true, Speedie Profit is not to be neglected, as farre as may stand, with the Good of the *Plantation*, but no further. It is a Shamefull and Unblessed Thing, to take the Scumme of People, and Wicked Condemned Men, to be the People with whom you *Plant*: And not only so, but it spoil-

eth the *Plantation*; For they will ever live like Rogues, and not fall to worke, but be Lazie, and doe Mischiefe, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary, and then Certifie over to their Country, to the Discredit of the *Plantation*. The People wherewith you *Plant*, ought to be Gardners, Plough-men, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Ioyners, Fisher-men, Fowlers, with some few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cookes, and Bakers. In a Country of *Plantation*, first looke about, what kinde of Victuall, the Countrie yeelds of it selfe, to Hand: As Chestnuts, Wallnuts, Pine-Apples, Olives, Dates, Plummes, Cherries, Wilde-Hony, and the like: and make use of them. Then consider, what Victuall or Esculent Things there are, which grow speedily, and within the yeere; As Parsnips, Carrets, Turnips, Onions, Radish, Artichokes of Hierusalem, Maiz, and the like. For Wheat, Barly, and Oats, they aske too much Labour: But with Pease, and Beanes, you may begin; Both because they aske lesse Labour, and because they serve for Meat, as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise commeth a great Encrease, and it is a kinde of Meat. Above all, there ought to be brought Store of Bisket, Oat-meale, Flower, Meale, and the like, in the beginning, till Bread may be had. For Beasts, or Birds, take chiefly such, as are least Subiect to Diseases, and Multiply fastest: As Swine, Goats, Cockes, Hennes, Turkies, Geese, House-doves, and the like. The Victuall in *Plantations*, ought to be expended, almost as in a Besieged Towne; That is, with certaine Allowance. And let the Maine Part of

the Ground employed to Gardens or Corne, bee to a Common Stocke; And to be Laid in, and Stored up, and then Delivered out in Proportion; Besides some Spots of Ground, that any Particular Person, will Manure, for his owne Private. Consider likewise, what Commodities the Soile, where the *Plantation* is, doth naturally yeeld, that they may some way helpe to defray the Charge of the *Plantation:* So it be not, as was said, to the untimely Preiudice, of the maine Businesse; As it hath fared with *Tobacco* in *Virginia.* Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; And therefore, Timber is fit to be one. If there be Iron Ure, and Streames whereupon to set the Milles; Iron is a brave Commoditie, where Wood aboundeth. Making of Bay Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in Experience. Growing Silke likewise, if any be, is a likely Commoditie. Pitch and Tarre, where store of Firres and Pines are, will not faile. So Drugs, and Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yeeld great Profit. Soape Ashes likewise, and other Things, that may be thought of. But moile not too much under Ground: For the Hope of Mines is very Uncertaine, and useth to make the *Planters* Lazie, in other Things. For Government, let it be in the Hands of one, assisted with some Counsell: And let them have Commission, to exercise Martiall Lawes, with some limitation. And above all, let Men make that Profit of being in the Wildernesse, as they have God alwaies, and his Service, before their Eyes. Let not the Government of the *Plantation*, depend

upon too many Counsellours, and Undertakers, in the Countrie that *Planteth*, but upon a temperate Number: And let those be, rather Noblemen, and Gentlemen, then Merchants: For they looke ever to the present Gaine. Let there be Freedomes from Custome, till the *Plantation* be of Strength: And not only Freedome from Custome, but Freedome to carrie their Commodities, where they may make their Best of them, except there be some speciall Cause of Caution. Cramme not in People, by sending too fast, Company, after Company; But rather hearken how they waste, and send Supplies proportionably; But so, as the Number may live well, in the *Plantation*, and not by Surcharge be in Penury. It hath beene a great Endangering, to the Health of some *Plantations*, that they have built along the Sea, and Rivers, in Marish and unwholesome Grounds. Therefore, though you begin there, to avoid Carriage, and other like Discommodities, yet build still, rather upwards, from the Streames, then along. It concerneth likewise, the Health of the *Plantation*, that they have good Store of Salt with them, that they may use it, in their Victualls, when it shall be necessary. If you *Plant*, where Savages are, doe not onely entertaine them with Trifles, and Gingles; But use them iustly, and gratiously, with sufficient Guard neverthelesse: And doe not winne their favour, by helping them to invade their Enemies, but for their Defence it is not amisse. And send oft of them, over to the Country, that *Plants*, that they may see a better Condition then their owne, and commend it

when they returne. When the *Plantation* growes to Strength, then it is time, to *Plant* with Women, as well as with Men; That the *Plantation* may spread into Generations, and not be ever peeced from without. It is the sinfullest Thing in the world, to forsake or destitute a *Plantation*, once in Forwardnesse: For besides the Dishonour, it is the Guiltinesse of Bloud, of many Commiserable Persons.

XXXIIII

Of Riches

I CANNOT call *Riches* better, then the Baggage of Vertue. The *Roman* Word is better, *Impedimenta*. For as the Baggage is to an Army, so is *Riches* to Vertue. It cannot be spared, nor left behinde, but it hindreth the March; Yea, and the care of it, sometimes, loseth or disturbeth the Victory: Of great *Riches*, there is no Reall Use, except it be in the Distribution; The rest is but Conceit. So saith *Salomon; Where much is, there are Many to consume it; And what hath the Owner, but the Sight of it, with his Eyes?* The Personall Fruition in any Man, cannot reach to feele Great *Riches:* There is a Custody of them; Or a Power of Dole and Donative of them; Or a Fame of them; But no Solid Use to the Owner. Doe you not see, what fained Prices, are set upon little Stones, and Rarities? And what Works of Ostentation, are undertaken, because there might seeme to be, some Use of great *Riches?* But then you will say, they may be of use, to buy Men out of Dangers or Troubles.

As *Salomon* saith; *Riches are as a strong Hold, in the Imagination of the Rich Man.* But this is excellently expressed, that it is in *Imagination*, and not alwaies in *Fact*. For certainly Great *Riches*, have sold more Men, then they have bought out. Seeke not Proud *Riches*, but such as thou maist get iustly, Use soberly, Distribute cheerefully, and Leave contentedly. Yet have no Abstract nor Friarly Contempt of them But distinguish, as *Cicero* saith well of *Rabirius Posthumus; In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat, non Avaritiæ Prædam, sed Instrumentum Bonitati, quæri.* Hearken also to *Salomon*, and beware of Hasty Gathering of *Riches: Qui festinat ad Divitias, non erit insons.* The Poets faigne that when *Plutus*, (which is *Riches*,) is sent from *Iupiter*, he limps, and goes slowly; But when he is sent from *Pluto*, he runnes, and is Swift of Foot. Meaning, that *Riches* gotten by Good Meanes, and Iust Labour, pace slowly; But when they come by the death of Others, (As by the Course of Inheritance, Testaments, and the like,) they come tumbling upon a Man. But it mought be applied likewise to *Pluto*, taking him for the Devill. For when *Riches* come from the Devill, (as by Fraud, and Oppression, and uniust Meanes,) they come upon Speed. The *Waies to enrich* are many, and most of them Foule. *Parsimony* is one of the best, and yet is not Innocent: For it with-holdeth Men, from Workes of Liberality, and Charity. The *Improvement of the Ground*, is the most Naturall Obtaining of *Riches;* For it is our Great Mothers Blessing, the Earths; But it

is slow. And yet, where Men of great wealth, doe stoope to husbandry, it multiplieth *Riches* exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman in *England*, that had the greatest Audits, of any Man in my Time: A Great Grasier, A Great Sheepe-Master, A Great Timber Man, A Great Colliar, A Great Corne-Master, A Great Lead-Man, and so of Iron, and a Number of the like Points of Husbandry. So as the Earth seemed a Sea to him, in respect of the Perpetuall Importation. It was truly observed by One, that Himselfe came very hardly to a Little *Riches*, and very easily to Great *Riches*. For when a Mans Stocke is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of Markets, and overcome those Bargaines, which for their greatnesse are few Mens Money, and be Partner in the Industries of Younger Men, he cannot but encrease mainely. The *Gaines* of *Ordinary Trades* and *Vocations*, are honest; And furthered by two Things, chiefly: By Diligence; And By a good Name, for good and faire dealing. But the *Gaines* of *Bargaines*, are of a more doubtfull Nature; When Men shall waite upon Others Necessity, broake by Servants and Instruments to draw them on, Put off Others cunningly that would be better Chapmen, and the like Practises, which are Crafty and Naught. As for the *Chopping of Bargaines*, when a Man Buies, not to Hold, but to Sell over againe, that commonly Grindeth double, both upon the Seller, and upon the Buyer. *Sharings*, doe greatly *Enrich*, if the Hands be well chosen, that are trusted. *Usury* is the certainest Meanes of Gaine, though one

of the worst; As that, whereby a Man doth eate his Bread; *In sudore vultûs alieni:* And besides, doth Plough upon Sundaies. But yet Certaine though it be, it hath Flawes; For that the Scriveners and Broakers, doe valew unsound Men, to serve their owne Turne. The *Fortune*, in being the First in an *Invention*, or in a *Priviledge*, doth cause sometimes a wonderfull Overgrowth in *Riches;* As it was with the first Sugar Man, in the *Canaries:* Therefore, if a Man can play the true *Logician*, to have as well Iudgement, as Invention, he may do great Matters; especially if the Times be fit. He that resteth upon *Gaines Certaine*, shall hardly grow to great *Riches:* And he that puts all upon *Adventures*, doth often times breake, and come to Poverty: It is good therefore, to guard *Adventures* with *Certainties*, that may uphold losses. *Monopolies*, and *Coemption* of *Wares* for *Resale*, where they are not restrained, are great Meanes to enrich; especially, if the Partie have intelligence, what Things are like to come into Request, and so store Himselfe before hand. *Riches* gotten by *Service*, though it be of the best Rise, yet when they are gotten by Flattery, Feeding Humours, and other Servile Conditions, they may be placed amongst the Worst. As for Fishing for *Testaments* and *Executorships* (as *Tacitus* saith of *Seneca; Testamenta et Orbos, tanquàm Indagine capi;*) It is yet worse; By how much Men submit themselves, to Meaner Persons, then in *Service*. Beleeve not much them, that seeme to despise *Riches:* For they despise them, that despaire of them; And none

Worse, when they come to them. Be not Penny-wise; *Riches* have Wings, and sometimes they Fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set Flying to bring in more. Men leave their *Riches*, either to their Kindred; Or to the Publique: And moderate Portions prosper best in both. A great State left to an Heire, is as a Lure to all the Birds of Prey, round about, to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished in Yeares and Iudgement. Likewise Glorious Gifts and Foundations, are like *Sacrifices without Salt;* And but the *Painted Sepulchres of Almes*, which soone will putrifie, and corrupt inwardly. Therefore, Measure not thine Advancements by Quantity, but Frame them by Measure; and Deferre not Charities till Death: For certainly, if a Man weigh it rightly, he that doth so, is rather Liberall of an Other Mans, then of his Owne.

XXXV

Of Prophecies

I MEANE not to speake of *Divine Prophecies;* Nor of Heathen Oracles; Nor of Naturall Predictions; But only of *Prophecies,* that have beene of certaine Memory, and from Hidden Causes. Saith the *Pythonissa* to *Saul; To Morrow thou and thy sonne shall be with me.* *Homer* hath these Verses.

At Domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur Oris,
Et Nati Natorum, & qui nascentur ab illis:

A Prophecie, as it seemes, of the *Roman Empire.* *Seneca* the *Tragedian* hath these Verses.

——— *Venient Annis*
Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula Rerum laxet, & ingens
Pateat Tellus, Typhisque novos
Detegat Orbes; nec sit Terris
Ultima Thule:

A *Prophecie* of the Discovery of *America.* The Daughter of *Polycrates* dreamed, that *Iupiter* bathed her Father, and *Apollo* annointed him: And it came to passe, that he was crucified in

an Open Place, where the Sunne made his Bodie runne with Sweat, and the Raine washed it. *Philip* of *Macedon* dreamed, He sealed up his Wives Belly: Whereby he did expound it, that his Wife should be barren: But *Aristander* the Soothsayer, told him, his Wife was with Childe, because Men doe not use to Seale Vessells that are emptie. A Phantasme, that appeared to *M. Brutus* in his Tent, said to him; *Philippis iterùm me videbis. Tiberius* said to *Galba. Tu quoque Galba degustabis Imperium.* In *Vespasians* Time, there went a *Prophecie* in the East; That those that should come forth of *Iudea*, should reigne over the World: which though it may be was meant of our *Saviour*, yet *Tacitus* expounds it of *Vespasian. Domitian* dreamed, the Night before he was slaine, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Necke: And indeed, the Succession that followed him, for many yeares, made Golden Times. *Henry* the Sixt of *England*, said of *Henry* the Seventh, when he was a Lad, and gave him Water; *This is the Lad, that shall enioy the Crowne, for which we strive.* When I was in *France*, I heard from one Dr. *Pena*, that the *Q. Mother*, who was given to Curious Arts, caused the *King* her Husbands Nativitie, to be Calculated, under a false Name; And the Astrologer gave a Iudgement, that he should be killed in a Duell; At which the Queene laughed, thinking her Husband, to be above Challenges and Duels: but he was slaine, upon a Course at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staffe of *Mongomery*, going in at his Bever. The triviall *Prophecie*,

which I heard, when I was a Childe, and *Queene Elizabeth* was in the Flower of her Yeares, was;

When Hempe is sponne;
England's done.

Whereby, it was generally conceived, that after the *Princes* had Reigned, which had the Principiall *Letters*, of that Word *Hempe*, (which were *Henry*, *Edward*, *Mary*, *Philip*, and *Elizabeth*) *England* should come to utter Confusion: Which, thankes be to God, is verified only, in the Change of the Name: For that the Kings Stile, is now no more of *England*, but of *Britaine*. There was also another *Prophecie*, before the year of 88. which I doe not well understand.

There shall be seene upon a day,
Betweene the Baugh, and the May,
The Blacke Fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build Houses of Lime and Stone
For after Warres shall you have None.

It was generally conceived, to be meant of the Spanish Fleet, that came in 88. For that the *King* of *Spaines* Surname, as they say, is *Norway*. The Prediction of *Regiomontanus;*

Octogessimus octavus mirabilis Annus;

Was thought likewise accomplished, in the Sending of that great Fleet, being the greatest in Strength, though not in Number, of all that ever swamme upon the Sea. As for *Cleons* Dreame, I thinke it was a Iest. It was, that he was devoured of a long Dragon; And it was expounded of a Maker of Sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are Numbers of the like

kinde; Especially if you include *Dreames*, and *Predictions* of *Astrologie*. But I have set downe these few onely of certaine Credit, for Example. My Iudgement is, that they ought all to be *Despised;* And ought to serve, but for Winter Talke, by the Fire side. Though when I say *Despised*, I meane it as for Beleefe: For otherwise, the Spreading or Publishing of them, is in no sort to be *Despised*. For they have done much Mischiefe: And I see many severe Lawes made to suppresse them. That, that hath given them Grace, and some Credit, consisteth in three Things. First, that Men marke, when they hit, and never marke, when they misse: As they doe, generally, also of *Dreames*. The second is, that Probable Coniectures, or obscure Traditions, many times, turne themselves into *Prophecies:* While the Nature of Man, which coveteth *Divination*, thinkes it no Perill to foretell that, which indeed they doe but collect. As that of *Seneca's* Verse. For so much was then subiect to Demonstration, that the Globe of the Earth, had great Parts beyond the Atlanticke; which mought be Probably conceived, not to be all Sea: And adding thereto, the Tradition in *Plato's Timeus*, and his *Atlanticus*, it mought encourage One, to turne it to a *Prediction*. The third, and Last (which is the Great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in Number, have beene Impostures, and by idle and craftie Braines, meerely contrived and faigned, after the Event Past.

XXXVI

Of Ambition

AMBITION is like *Choler;* Which is an Humour, that maketh Men Active, Earnest, Full of Alacritie, and Stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have his Way, it becommeth Adust, and thereby Maligne and Venomous. So *Ambitious Men*, if they finde the way Open for their Rising, and still get forward, they are rather Busie then Dangerous; But if they be check't in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and looke upon Men and matters, with an Evill Eye; And are best pleased, when Things goe backward; Which is the worst Propertie, in a Servant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they use *Ambitious Men*, to handle it so, as they be still Progressive, and not Retrograde: Which because it cannot be without Inconvenience, it is good not to use such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their Service, they will take Order to make their Service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use Men of *Ambitious Natures*, except it be upon

necessitie, it is fit we speake, in what Cases, they are of necessitie. Good Commanders in the Warres, must be taken, be they never so *Ambitious:* For the Use of their Service dispenseth with the rest; And to take a Soldier without *Ambition*, is to pull off his Spurres. There is also great use of *Ambitious Men*, in being Skreenes to Princes, in Matters of Danger and Envie: For no Man will take that Part, except he be like a Seel'd Dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is Use also of *Ambitious Men*, in Pulling downe the Greatnesse, of any Subiect that over-tops: As *Tiberius* used *Macro* in the Pulling down of *Seianus*. Since therefore they must be used, in such Cases, there resteth to speake, how they are to be brideled, that they may be lesse *dangerous*. There is lesse *danger* of them, if they be of Meane Birth, then if they be Noble: And if they be rather Harsh of Nature, then Gracious and Popular: And if they be rather New Raised, then growne Cunning, and Fortified in their Greatnesse. It is counted by some, a weaknesse in Princes, to have *Favorites:* But it is, of all others, the best Remedy against *Ambitious Great-Ones*. For when the Way of Pleasuring and Displeasuring, lieth by the *Favourite*, it is Impossible, Any Other should be *Over-great*. Another meanes to curbe them, is to Ballance them by others, as Proud as they. But then, there must be some Middle Counsellours, to keep Things steady: For without that Ballast, the Ship will roule too much. At the least, a Prince may animate and inure

some Meaner Persons, to be, as it were, Scourges to *Ambitious Men.* As for the having of them Obnoxious to Ruine, if they be of fearefull Natures, it may doe well: But if they bee Stout, and Daring, it may precipitate their Designes, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them downe, if the Affaires require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddainly, the onely Way is, the Enterchange continually of Favours, and Disgraces; whereby they may not know, what to expect; And be, as it were, in a Wood. Of *Ambitions*, it is lesse harmefull, the *Ambition* to prevaile in great Things, then that other, to appeare in every thing; For that breeds Confusion, and marres Businesse. But yet, it is lesse danger, to have an *Ambitious* Man, stirring in Businesse, then Great in Dependances. He that seeketh to be Eminent amongst Able Men, hath a great Taske; but that is ever good for the Publique. But he that plots, to be the onely Figure amongst Ciphars, is the decay of an whole Age. *Honour* hath three Things in it: The Vantage Ground to doe good: The Approach to Kings, and principall Persons: And the Raising of a Mans owne Fortunes. He that hath the best of these Intentions, when he aspireth, is an Honest Man: And that Prince, that can discerne of these Intentions, in Another that aspireth, is a wise Prince. Generally, let Princes and States, choose such Ministers, as are more sensible of Duty, then of Rising; And such as love Businesse rather upon Conscience, then upon Bravery: And let them Discerne a Busie Nature, from a Willing Minde.

XXXVII

Of Masques and Triumphs

THESE Things are but Toyes, to come amongst such Serious Observations. But yet, since Princes will have such Things, it is better, they should be Graced with Elegancy, then Daubed with Cost. *Dancing to Song*, is a Thing of great State, and Pleasure. I understand it, that the Song be in Quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken Musicke: And the Ditty fitted to the Device. *Acting in Song*, especially in *Dialogues*, hath an extreme Good Grace: I say *Acting*, not *Dancing*, (For that is a Meane and Vulgar Thing;) And the *Voices* of the *Dialogue*, would be Strong and Manly, (A Base, and a Tenour; No Treble;) And the *Ditty* High and Tragicall; Not nice or Dainty. *Severall Quires*, placed one over against another, and taking the Voice by Catches, *Antheme* wise, give great Pleasure. *Turning Dances* into *Figure*, is a childish Curiosity. And generally, let it be noted, that those Things, which I here set downe, are such, as doe naturally take the Sense, and not respect Petty Wonderments. It

is true, the *Alterations of Scenes*, so it be quietly, and without Noise, are Things of great Beauty, and Pleasure: For they feed and relieve the Eye, before it be full of the same Obiect. Let the *Scenes* abound with *Light*, specially *Coloured* and *Varied:* And let the Masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the *Scene*, have some Motions, upon the *Scene* it selfe, before their Comming down: For it drawes the Eye strangely, & makes it with great pleasure, to desire to see that, it cannot perfectly discerne. Let the *Songs* be *Loud*, and *Cheerefull*, and not *Chirpings*, or *Pulings*. Let the *Musicke* likewise, be *Sharpe*, and *Loud*, and *Well Placed*. The *Colours*, that shew best by Candlelight, are; White, Carnation, and a Kinde of Sea-Water-Greene; And *Oes*, or *Spangs*, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory. As for *Rich Embroidery*, it is lost, and not Discerned. Let the *Sutes* of the *Masquers*, be Gracefull, and such as become the Person, when the Vizars are off: Not after Examples of Knowne Attires; Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let *Antimasques* not be long; They have been commonly of Fooles, Satyres, Baboones, Wilde-Men, Antiques, Beasts, Sprites, Witches, Ethiopes, Pigmies, Turquets, Nimphs, Rusticks, Cupids, Statua's Moving, and the like. As for *Angels*, it is not Comicall enough, to put them in *Anti-Masques;* And any Thing that is hideous, as Devils, Giants, is on the other side as unfit. But chiefly, let the *Musicke* of them, be Recreative, and with some strange Changes. Some *Sweet Odours*, suddenly comming forth, without

any drops falling, are, in such a Company, as there is Steame and Heate, Things of great Pleasure; & Refreshment. *Double Masques*, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State, and Variety. But All is Nothing, except the *Roome* be kept Cleare, and Neat.

For *Iusts*, and *Tourneys*, and *Barriers*; The Glories of them, are chiefly in the Chariots, wherein the Challengers make their Entry; Especially if they be drawne with Strange Beasts; As Lions, Beares, Cammels, and the like: Or in the Devices of their Entrance; Or in the Bravery of their Liveries; Or in the Goodly Furniture of their Horses, and Armour. But enough of these Toyes.

XXXVIII

· Of Nature in Men

NATURE is Often Hidden; Sometimes Overcome; Seldome Extinguished. Force maketh *Nature* more violent in the Returne: Doctrine and Discourse maketh *Nature* lesse Importune: But Custome onely doth alter and subdue *Nature*. Hee that seeketh Victory over his *Nature*, let him not set Himselfe too great, nor too small Tasks: For the first, will make him deiected by often Faylings; And the Second will make him a small Proceeder, though by often Prevailings. And at the first, let him practise with Helps, as Swimmers doe with Bladders, or Rushes: But after a Time, let him practise with disadvantages, as Dancers doe with thick Shooes. For it breeds great Perfection, if the Practise be harder then the use. Where *Nature* is Mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be; First to Stay and Arrest *Nature* in Time; Like to Him, that would say over the Foure and Twenty Letters, when he was Angry: Then to Goe lesse in Quantity; As if one should, in forbearing Wine,

come from Drinking Healths, to a Draught at a Meale: And lastly, to Discontinue altogether. But if a Man have the Fortitude, and Resolution, to enfranchise Himselfe at once, that is the best;

Optimus ille Animi Vindex, lædentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.

Neither is the Ancient Rule amisse, to bend *Nature* as a Wand, to a Contrary Extreme, whereby to set it right: Understanding it, where the Contrary Extreme is no Vice. Let not a man force a Habit upon himselfe, with a Perpetuall Continuance, but with some Intermission. For both the Pause, reinforceth the new Onset; And if a Man, that is not perfect, be ever in Practise, he shall as well practise his Errours, as his Abilities; And induce one Habite of both: And there is no Meanes to helpe this, but by Seasonable Intermissions. But let not a Man trust his Victorie over his *Nature* too farre; For *Nature* will lay buried a great Time, and yet revive, upon the Occasion or Temptation. Like as it was with *Æsopes Damosell*, turned from a Catt to a Woman; who sate very demurely, at the Boards End, till a Mouse ranne before her. Therefore let a Man, either avoid the Occasion altogether; Or put Himselfe often to it, that hee may be little moved with it. A Mans *Nature* is best perceived in Privatenesse, for there is no Affectation; In Passion, for that putteth a Man out of his Precepts; And in a new Case or Experiment, for there Custome leaveth him. They are happie Men, whose *Natures* sort with their

Vocations; Otherwise they may say, *Multùm Incola fuit Anima mea:* when they converse in those Things, they doe not Affect. In Studies, whatsoever a Man commandeth upon himselfe, let him set Houres for it: But whatsoever is agreeable to his *Nature*, let him take no Care, for any set Times: For his Thoughts, will flie to it of Themselves; So as the Spaces of other Businesse, or Studies, will suffice. A Mans *Nature* runnes either to Herbes, or Weeds; Therefore let him seasonably Water the One, and Destroy the Other.

XXXIX

Of Custome and Education

MENS Thoughts are much according to their Inclination: Their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning, and Infused Opinions; But their Deeds are after as they have beene *Accustomed.* And therefore, as *Macciavel* well noteth (though in an evill favoured Instance) There is no Trusting to the Force of Nature, nor to the Bravery of Words; Except it be Corroborate by *Custome.* His Instance is, that for the Atchieving of a desperate Conspiracie, a Man should not rest upon the Fiercenesse of any mans Nature, or his Resolute Undertakings; But take such an one, as hath had his Hands formerly in Bloud. But *Macciavel* knew not of a *Friar Clement,* nor a *Ravillac,* nor a *Iaureguy,* nor a *Baltazar Gerard:* yet his Rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the Engagement of Words, are not so forcible, as *Custome.* Onely Superstition is now so well advanced, that Men of the first Bloud, are as Firme, as Butchers by Occupation: And votary Resolution is made Equipollent to *Custome,*

even in matter of Bloud. In other Things, the Predominancy of *Custome* is every where Visible; In so much, as a Man would wonder, to heare Men Professe, Protest, Engage, Give Great Words, and then Doe iust as they have Done before: As if they were Dead Images, and Engines moved onely by the wheeles of *Custome*. We see also the Raigne or Tyrannie of *Custome*, what it is. The *Indians* (I meane the Sect of their Wise Men) lay Themselves quietly upon a Stacke of Wood, and so Sacrifice themselves by Fire. Nay the Wives strive to be burned with the Corpses of their Husbands. The Lads of *Sparta*, of Ancient Time, were wont to be Scourged upon the Altar of *Diana*, without so much as Queching. I remember in the beginning of *Queene Elizabeths* time of *England*, an *Irish Rebell* Condemned, put up a Petition to the *Deputie*, that he might be hanged in a With, and not in an Halter, because it had beene so used, with former *Rebels*. There be *Monkes* in *Russia*, for Penance, that will sit a whole Night, in a Vessell of Water, till they be Ingaged with hard Ice. Many Examples may be put, of the Force of *Custome*, both upon Minde, and Body. Therefore, since Custome is the Principall Magistrate of Mans life; Let Men by all Meanes endevour, to obtaine good *Customes*. Certainly, *Custome* is most perfect, when it beginneth in Young Yeares: This we call *Education*; which is, in effect, but an *Early Custome*. So we see, in Languages the Tongue is more Pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the Ioints are more Supple to all Feats of Ac-

tivitie, and Motions, in Youth then afterwards. For it is true, that late Learners, cannot so well take the Plie; Except it be in some Mindes, that have not suffered themselves to fixe, but have kept themselves open and prepared, to receive continuall Amendment, which is exceeding Rare. But if the Force of *Custome* Simple and Separate, be Great; the Force of *Custome* Copulate, and Conioyned, & Collegiate, is far Greater. For there Example teacheth; Company comforteth; Emulation quickeneth; Glory raiseth: So as in such Places the Force of *Custome* is in his Exaltation. Certainly, the great Multiplication of Vertues upon Humane Nature, resteth upon Societies well Ordained, and Disciplined. For Commonwealths, and Good Governments, doe nourish Vertue Growne, but doe not much mend the Seeds. But the Misery is, that the most Effectuall Meanes, are now applied, to the Ends, least to be desired.

XL

Of Fortune

IT cannot be denied, but Outward Accidents conduce much to *Fortune:* Favour, Opportunitie, Death of Others, Occasion fitting Vertue. But chiefly, the Mould of a Mans *Fortune*, is in his owne hands. *Faber quisque Fortunæ suæ;* saith the Poet. And the most Frequent of Externall Causes is, that the Folly of one Man, is the *Fortune* of Another. For no Man prospers so suddenly, as by Others Errours. *Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco.* Overt, and Apparent vertues bring forth Praise; But there be Secret and Hidden Vertues, that bring Forth *Fortune.* Certaine Deliveries of a Mans Selfe, which have no Name. The Spanish Name, *Desemboltura*, partly expresseth them: When there be not Stonds, nor Restivenesse in a Mans Nature; But that the wheeles of his Minde keepe way, with the wheeles of his *Fortune.* For so *Livie* (after he had described *Cato Maior*, in these words; *In illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis & Animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, Fortunam sibi facturus videretur;*)

falleth upon that, that he had, *Versatile Ingenium.* Therfore, if a Man looke Sharply, and Attentively, he shall see *Fortune:* For though shee be Blinde, yet shee is not Invisible. The Way of *Fortune*, is like the *Milken Way* in the Skie; Which is a Meeting or Knot, of a Number of Small Stars; Not Seene asunder, but Giving Light together. So are there, a Number of Little, and scarce discerned Vertues, or rather Faculties and Customes, that make Men *Fortunate*. The *Italians* note some of them, such as a Man would little thinke. When they speake of one, that cannot doe amisse, they will throw in, into his other Conditions, that he hath, *Poco di Matto.* And certainly, there be not two more *Fortunate* Properties; Then to have a *Little* of the *Foole;* And not *Too Much* of the *Honest.* Therefore, Extreme Lovers of their Countrey, or Masters, were never *Fortunate*, neither can they be. For when a Man placeth his Thoughts without Himselfe, he goeth not his owne Way. An hastie *Fortune* maketh an Enterpriser, and Remover, (The *French* hath it better; *Entreprenant*, or *Remuant*) But the Exercised *Fortune* maketh the Able Man. *Fortune* is to be Honoured, and Respected, and it bee but for her Daughters, *Confidence*, and *Reputation.* For those two Felicitie breedeth: The first within a Mans Selfe; the Latter, in Others towards Him. All Wise Men, to decline the Envy of their owne vertues, use to ascribe them to Providence and *Fortune;* For so they may the better assume them: And besides, it is Greatnesse in a Man, to be the Care, of the Higher Powers. So *Cæsar*

said to the Pilot in the Tempest, *Cæsarem portas, & Fortunam eius.* So *Sylla* chose the Name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus.* And it hath beene noted, that those, that ascribe openly too much to their owne Wisdome, and Policie, end *Infortunate.* It is written, that *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, after he had, in the Account he gave to the State, of his Government, often interlaced this Speech; *And in this Fortune had no Part;* never prospered in any Thing he undertooke afterwards. Certainly, there be, whose *Fortunes* are like *Homers Verses*, that have a Slide, and Easinesse, more then the Verses of other Poets: As *Plutarch* saith of *Timoleons Fortune*, in respect of that of *Agesilaus*, or *Epaminondas.* And that this should be, no doubt it is much, in a Mans Selfe.

XLI

Of Usurie

MANY have made Wittie Invectives against *Usurie*. They say, that it is Pitie, the Devill should have Gods part, which is the *Tithe*. That the *Usurer* is the greatest Sabbath Breaker, because his Plough goeth every Sunday. That the *Usurer* is the *Droane*, that Virgil speaketh of:

Ignavum Fucos Pecus à præsepibus arcent.

That the *Usurer* breaketh the First Law, that was made for Mankinde, after the Fall; which was, *In sudore Vultûs tui comedes Panem tuum;* Not, *In sudore Vultûs alieni.* That *Usurers* should have Orange-tawney Bonnets, because they doe *Iudaize*. That it is against Nature, for *Money* to beget *Money;* And the like. I say this onely, that *Usury* is a *Concessum propter Duritiem Cordis:* For since there must be Borrowing and Lending, and Men are so hard of Heart, as they will not lend freely, *Usury* must be permitted. Some Others have made Suspicious, and Cunning Propositions, of Bankes, Discovery of Mens Estates, and other Inventions. But few have spoken of *Usury* usefully. It is good to set before us, the *Incommodities*, and *Commodities* of *Usury;* That the

Good may be, either Weighed out, or Culled out; And warily to provide, that while we make forth, to that which is better, we meet not, with that which is worse.

The *Discommodities* of *Usury* are: First, that it makes fewer Merchants. For were it not, for this Lazie Trade of *Usury*, Money would not lie still, but would, in great Part, be Imployed upon Merchandizing; Which is the *Vena Porta* of Wealth in a State. The Second, that it makes Poore Merchants. For as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground so well, if he sit at a great Rent; So the Merchant cannot drive his Trade so well, if he sit at great *Usury*. The Third is incident to the other two; And that is, the Decay of Customes of Kings or States, which Ebbe or flow with Merchandizing. The Fourth, that it bringeth the Treasure of a Realme or State, into a few Hands. For the *Usurer* being at Certainties, and others at Uncertainties, at the end of the Game; Most of the Money will be in the Boxe; And ever a State flourisheth, when Wealth is more equally spread. The Fifth, that it beats downe the Price of Land: For the Employment of Money, is chiefly, either Merchandizing, or Purchasing; And *Usury* Waylayes both. The Sixth, that it doth Dull and Dampe all Industries, Improvements, and new Inventions, wherin Money would be Stirring, if it were not for this Slugge. The Last, that it is the Canker and Ruine of many Mens Estates; Which in processe of Time breeds a Publike Povertie.

On the other side, the *Commodities* of *Usury*

are. First, that howsoever *Usury* in some respect hindereth Merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it: For it is certain, that the Greatest Part of Trade, is driven by Young Merchants, upon Borrowing at Interest: So as if the *Usurer*, either call in, or keepe backe his Money, there will ensue presently a great Stand of Trade. The Second is, That were it not, for this easie borrowing upon *Interest*, Mens necessities would draw upon them, a most sudden undoing; In that they would be forced to sell their Meanes (be it Lands or Goods) farre under Foot; and so, whereas *Usury* doth but Gnaw upon them, Bad Markets would Swallow them quite up. As for Mortgaging, or Pawning, it will little mend the matter; For either Men will not take Pawnes without *Use;* Or if they doe, they will looke precisely for the Forfeiture. I remember a Cruell Moneyed Man, in the Country, that would say; The Devill take this *Usury*, it keepes us from Forfeitures, of Mortgages, and Bonds. The third and Last is; That it is a Vanitie to conceive, that there would be Ordinary Borrowing without Profit; And it is impossible to conceive, the Number of Inconveniences, that will ensue, if Borrowing be Cramped. Therefore, to speake of the Abolishing of *Usury* is Idle. All States have ever had it, in one Kinde or Rate, or other. So as that Opinion must be sent to *Utopia.*

To speake now, of the *Reformation* and *Reiglement* of *Usury;* How the *Discommodities* of it may be best avoided, and the *Commodities* retained. It appeares by the Ballance, of *Com-*

modities, and *Discommodities* of *Usury*, Two Things are to be Reconciled. The one, that the *Tooth* of *Usurie* be grinded, that it bite not too much: The other, that there bee left open a Meanes, to invite Moneyed Men, to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce, two severall *Sorts* of *Usury;* A *Lesse*, and a *Greater*. For if you reduce *Usury*, to one Low Rate, it will ease the common Borrower, but the Merchant wil be to seeke for Money. And it is to be noted, that the Trade of Merchandize, being the most Lucrative, may beare *Usury* at a good Rate; Other Contracts not so.

To serve both Intentions, the way would be briefly thus. That there be *Two Rates* of *Usury*, The one Free, and Generall for All; The other under *Licence* only, to *Certaine Persons*, and in *Certaine Places* of *Merchandizing*. First therefore, let *Usury, in generall, be reduced to Five in the Hundred;* And let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and Current; And let the State shut it selfe out, to take any Penalty for the same. This will preserve Borrowing from any generall Stop or Drinesse. This will ease infinite Borrowers in the Countrie. This will, in good Part, raise the Price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteene yeares Purchase, wil yeeld Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this Rate of Interest, Yeelds but Five. This, by like reason, will Encourage, and edge, Industrious and Profitable Improvements; Because Many will rather venture in that kinde, then take Five in the Hundred, especially hav-

ing beene used to greater Profit. Secondly, let there be *Certaine Persons licensed to Lend, to knowne Merchants*, upon *Usury* at a *Higher Rate;* and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, even with the Merchant himselfe, somewhat more easie, then that he used formerly to pay: For, by that Meanes, all Borrowers shall have some ease, by this Reformation, be he Merchant, or whosoever. Let it be no Banke or Common Stocke, but every Man be Master of his owne Money: Not that I altogether Mislike Banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the State be answered, some small Matter, for the Licence, and the rest left to the Lender: For if the Abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the Lender. For he, for Example, that tooke before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, wil sooner descend to Eight in the Hundred, then give over his Trade of *Usury;* And goe from Certaine Gaines, to Gaines of Hazard. Let these Licenced Lenders be in Number Indefinite, but restrained to Certaine Principall Cities and Townes of Merchandizing: For then they will be hardly able, to Colour other Mens Moneyes, in the Country: So as the *Licence of Nine*, will not sucke away the current *Rate of Five:* For no Man will Lend his Moneyes farre off, nor put them into Unknown Hands.

If it be Obiected, that this doth, in a Sort, Authorize, *Usury*, which before was, in some places, but Permissive: The Answer is; That it is better, to Mitigate *Usury* by *Declaration*, then to suffer it to Rage by *Connivence*.

XLII

Of Youth and Age

A MAN that is *Young in yeares*, may be Old in Houres, if he have lost no Time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, *youth* is like the first Cogitations, not so Wise as the Second. For there is a *youth* in thoughts as well as in Ages. And yet the Invention of *Young Men*, is more lively, then that of Old: And Imaginations streame into their Mindes better, and, as it were, more Divinely. Natures that have much Heat, and great and violent desires and Perturbations, are not ripe for Action, till they have passed the Meridian of their yeares: As it was with *Iulius Cæsar*, & *Septimius Severus*. Of the latter of whom, it is said; *Iuventutem egit, Erroribus, imò Furoribus, plenam.* And yet he was the Ablest Emperour, almost, of all the List. But Reposed Natures may doe well in *Youth*. As it is seene, in *Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus* Duke of *Florence, Gaston de Fois*, and others. On the other side, Heate and Vivacity in *Age*, is an Excellent Composition for Businesse. *Young Men*, are Fitter to Invent,

then to Iudge; Fitter for Execution, then for Counsell; And Fitter for New Proiects, then for Setled Businesse. For the Experience of *Age*, in Things that fall within the compasse of it, directeth them; But in New Things, abuseth them. The Errours of *Young Men* are the Ruine of Businesse; But the Errours of *Aged Men* amount but to this; That more might have beene done, or sooner. *Young Men*, in the Conduct, and Mannage of Actions, Embrace more then they can Hold, Stirre more then they can Quiet; Fly to the End, without Consideration of the Meanes, and Degrees; Pursue some few Principles, which they have chanced upon absurdly; Care not to Innovate, which draws unknowne Inconveniences; Use extreme Remedies at first; And, that which doubleth all Errours, will not acknowledge or retract them; Like an unready Horse, that will neither Stop, nor Turne. *Men* of *Age*, Obiect too much, Consult too long, Adventure too little, Repent too soone, and seldome drive Businesse home to the full Period; But content themselves with a Mediocrity of Successe. Certainly, it is good to compound Employments of both; For that will be Good for the *Present*, because the Vertues of either *Age*, may correct the defects of both: And good for Succession, that *Young Men* may be Learners, while *Men* in *Age* are Actours: And lastly, Good for *Externe Accidents*, because Authority followeth *Old Men*, And Favour and Popularity *Youth*. But for the Morall Part, perhaps *Youth* will have the preheminence, as *Age* hath for the Politique. A certaine *Rabbine*,

upon the Text; *Your Young Men shall see visions, and your Old Men shall dreame dreames;* Inferreth, that *Young Men* are admitted nearer to God then *Old;* Because *Vision* is a clearer Revelation, then a *Dreame.* And certainly, the more a Man drinketh of the World, the more it intoxicateth; And *Age* doth profit rather in the Powers of Understanding, then in the Vertues of the Will and Affections. There be some have an Over-early Ripenesse in their yeares, which fadeth betimes: These are first, Such as have Brittle Wits, the Edge whereof is soone turned; Such as was *Hermogenes* the *Rhetorician*, whose Books are exceeding Subtill; Who afterwards waxed Stupid. A Second Sort is of those, that have some naturall Dispositions, which have better Grace in *Youth*, then in *Age:* Such as is a fluent and Luxuriant Speech; which becomes *Youth* well, but not *Age:* So *Tully* saith of *Hortensius; Idem manebat, neque idem decebat.* The third is of such, as take too high a Straine at the First; And are Magnanimous, more then Tract of yeares can uphold. As was *Scipio Africanus*, of whom *Livy* saith in effect; *Ultima primis cedebant.*

XLIII

Of Beauty

VERTUE is like a Rich Stone, best plaine set: And surely, Vertue is best in a Body, that is comely, though not of Delicate Features: And that hath rather Dignity of Presence, then *Beauty* of Aspect. Neither is it almost seene, that very *Beautifull Persons*, are otherwise of great Vertue; As if Nature, were rather Busie not to erre, then in labour, to produce Excellency. And therefore, they prove Accomplished, but not of great Spirit; And Study rather Behaviour, then Vertue. But this holds not alwaies; For *Augustus Cæsar*, *Titus Vespasianus*, *Philip le Belle* of *France*, *Edward* the *Fourth* of *England*, *Alcibiades* of *Athens*, *Ismael* the *Sophy* of *Persia*, were all High and Great Spirits; And yet the most *Beautifull Men* of their Times. In *Beauty*, that of Favour, is more then that of Colour, And that of Decent and Gracious Motion, more then that of Favour. That is the best Part of *Beauty*, which a Picture cannot expresse; No nor the first Sight of the Life. There is no Excellent *Beauty*, that hath not some Strange-

nesse in the Proportion. A Man cannot tell, whether *Apelles*, or *Albert Durer*, were the more Trifler: Whereof the one would make a Personage by Geometricall Proportions: The other, by taking the best Parts out of divers Faces, to make one Excellent. Such Personages, I thinke, would please no Body, but the Painter, that made them. Not but I thinke a Painter, may make a better Face, then ever was; But he must doe it, by a kinde of Felicity, (As a Musician that maketh an excellent Ayre in Musicke) And not by Rule. A Man shall see Faces, that if you examine them, Part by Part, you shall finde never a good; And yet all together doe well. If it be true, that the Principall Part of *Beauty*, is in decent Motion, certainly it is no marvaile, though *Persons in Yeares,* seeme many times more Amiable; *Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher:* For no *Youth* can be comely, but by Pardon, and considering the *Youth*, as to make up the comelinesse. *Beauty* is as Summer-Fruits, which are easie to corrupt, and cannot last: And, for the most part, it makes a dissolute *Youth*, and an *Age* a little out of countenance: But yet certainly againe, if it light well, it maketh Vertues shine, and Vices blush.

XLIIII

Of Deformity

DEFORMED Persons are commonly even with Nature: For as Nature hath done ill by them; So doe they by Nature: Being for the most part, (as the Scripture saith) *void of Naturall Affection;* And so they have their Revenge of Nature. Certainly there is a Consent between the Body and the Minde; And where Nature erreth in the One, she ventureth in the Other. *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero.* But because, there is in Man, an Election touching the Frame of his Minde, and a Necessity in the Frame of his Body, the Starres of Naturall Inclination, are sometimes obscured, by the Sun of Discipline, and Vertue. Therefore, it is good to consider of *Deformity*, not as a Signe, which is more Deceivable; But as a Cause, which seldome faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any Thing fixed in his Person, that doth enduce Contempt, hath also a perpetuall Spurre in himselfe, to rescue and deliver himselfe from Scorne: Therefore all *Deformed Persons* are extreme Bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being

exposed to Scorn; But in Processe of Time, by a Generall Habit. Also it stirreth in them Industry, and especially of this kinde, to watch and observe the Weaknesse of Others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Againe, in their Superiours, it quencheth Iealousie towards them, as Persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: And it layeth their Competitours and Emulatours asleepe; As never beleeving, they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in Possession. So that, upon the matter, in a great Wit, *Deformity* is an Advantage to Rising. Kings in Ancient Times, (And at this present in some Countries,) were wont to put Great Trust in *Eunuchs;* Because they, that are Envious towards All, are more Obnoxious and Officious towards One. But yet their Trust towards them, hath rather beene as to good Spialls, and good Whisperers; then good Magistrates, and Officers. And much like is the Reason of *Deformed Persons*. Still the Ground is, they will, if they be of Spirit, seeke to free themselves from Scorne; Which must be, either by Vertue, or Malice: And therefore, let it not be Marvelled, if sometimes they prove Excellent Persons; As was *Agesilaus*, *Zanger* the Sonne of *Solyman*, *Æsope*, *Gasca* President of *Peru;* And *Socrates* may goe likewise amongst them; with Others.

XLV

Of Building

HOUSES are built to Live in, and not to Looke on: Therefore let Use bee preferred before Uniformitie; Except where both may be had. Leave the Goodly Fabrickes of *Houses*, for Beautie only, to the *Enchanted Pallaces* of the *Poets:* Who build them with small Cost. Hee that builds a faire *House*, upon an *ill Seat*, committeth Himselfe to Prison. Neither doe I reckon it an *ill Seat*, only, where the Aire is Unwholsome; But likewise where the Aire is unequall; As you shall see many Fine *Seats*, set upon a knap of Ground, Environed with Higher Hilles round about it: whereby the Heat of the Sunne is pent in, and the Wind gathereth as in Troughes; So as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great Diversitie of Heat and Cold, as if you Dwelt in severall Places. Neither is it *ill Aire* onely, that maketh an *ill Seat*, but Ill Wayes, Ill Markets; And, if you will consult with *Momus*, Ill Neighbours. I speake not of many More: Want of Water; Want of Wood, Shade, and Shelter; Want of Fruitfulnesse, and mixture of Grounds of severall Natures; Want

of Prospect; Want of Levell Grounds; Want of Places, at some neare Distance, for Sports of Hunting, Hauking, and Races; Too neare the Sea, too remote; Having the Commoditie of Navigable Rivers, or the discommoditie of their Overflowing; Too farre off from great Cities, which may hinder Businesse; Or too neare them, which Lurcheth all Provisions, and maketh every Thing deare: Where a Man hath a great Living laid together, and where he is scanted: All which, as it is impossible, perhaps, to finde together, so it is good to know them, and thinke of them, that a Man may take as many as he can: And if he have severall Dwellings, that he sort them so, that what hee wanteth in the One, hee may finde in the Other. *Lucullus* answered *Pompey* well; Who when hee saw his Stately Galleries, and Roomes, so Large and Lightsome, in one of his *Houses*, said; *Surely, an excellent Place for Summer, but how doe you in Winter? Lucullus* answered; *Why, doe you not think me as wise, as some Fowle are, that ever change their Aboad towards the Winter?*

To passe from the *Seat*, to the *House* it selfe; We will doe as *Cicero* doth, in the Oratours Art; Who writes Bookes *De Oratore*, and a Booke he entitles *Orator:* Whereof the Former delivers the Precepts of the *Art;* And the Latter the *Perfection.* We will therefore describe a *Princely Pallace*, making a briefe Modell thereof. For it is strange to see, now in *Europe*, such Huge *Buildings*, as the *Vatican*, and *Escuriall*, and some Others be, and yet scarce a very Faire Roome in them.

First therefore, I say, you cannot have a Perfect *Pallace*, except you have two severall Sides; A Side for the *Banquet*, as is spoken of in the Booke of *Hester;* And a Side; for the *Houshold:* The One for Feasts and Triumphs, and the Other for Dwelling. I understand both these Sides, to be not onely Returnes, but Parts of the *Front;* And to be uniforme without, though severally Partitioned within; And to be on both Sides, of a Great and *Stately Tower*, in the Middest of the *Front;* That as it were, ioyneth them together, on either Hand. I would have on the Side of the *Banquet*, in Front, one only *Goodly Roome*, above Staires, of some Fortie Foot high; And under it, a Roome, for a *Dressing* or *Preparing Place*, at Times of Triumphs. On the other Side, which is the *Houshold* Side, I wish it divided at the first, into a *Hall*, and a *Chappell*, (with a Partition betweene;) Both of good State, and Bignesse: And those not to goe all the length, but to have, at the further end, a *Winter*, and a *Summer Parler*, both Faire. And under these Roomes, A Faire and Large *Cellar*, suncke under Ground: And likewise, some *Privie Kitchins*, with *Butteries*, and *Pantries*, and the like. As for the *Tower*, I would have it two Stories, of Eighteene Foot High a peece, above the two Wings; And a Goodly *Leads* upon the Top, railed with Statua's interposed; And the same *Tower* to bee divided into Roomes, as shall be thought fit. The Staires likewise, to the upper Roomes, let them bee upon a Faire open *Newell*, and finely raild in, with *Images* of *Wood*, cast into a Brasse Colour:

And a very faire *Landing Place* at the Top. But this to be, if you doe not point, any of the lower Roomes, for a Dining Place of Servants. For otherwise, you shall have the Servants Dinner, after your owne: For the Steame of it will come up as in a Tunnell. And so much for the *Front*. Only, I understand the Height of the first Staires, to be Sixteene Foot, which is the Height of the Lower Roome.

Beyond this *Front*, is there to be a Faire *Court*, but three Sides of it, of a Farre Lower building, then the *Front*. And in all the foure Corners of that Court, Faire Staire Cases, cast into *Turrets*, on the Outside, and not within the Row of *Buildings* themselves. But those *Towers*, are not to be of the Height of the *Front*; But rather Proportionable to the Lower *Building*. Let the *Court* not be paved, for that striketh up a great Heat in Summer, and much Cold in Winter. But onely some Side Alleys, with a Crosse, and the *Quarters* to Graze, being kept Shorne, but not too neare Shorne. The *Row* of *Returne*, on the *Banquet Side*, Let it be all *Stately Galleries*; In which *Galleries*, Let there be three, or five, fine *Cupola's*, in the Length of it, placed at equall distance: And fine *Coloured Windowes* of severall workes. On the Houshold Side, *Chambers* of *Presence*, and Ordinary Entertainments, with some *Bed-chambers*; And let all three Sides, be a double House, without Thorow Lights, on the Sides, that you may have Roomes from the Sunne, both for Fore-noone, and After-noone. Cast it also, that you may have Roomes, both for Sum-

mer, and Winter: Shadie for Summer, and Warme for Winter. You shall have sometimes Faire *Houses*, so full of Glasse, that one cannot tell, where to become, to be out of the Sunne, or Cold: For *Inbowed Windowes*, I hold them of good Use; (In Cities indeed, *Upright* doe better, in respect of the Uniformitie towards the Street;) For they bee Prettie Retiring Places for Conference; And besides, they keepe both the Wind, and Sunne off: For that which would strike almost thorow the Roome, doth scarce passe the *Window*. But let them be but few, Foure in the *Court*, On the Sides onely.

Beyond this *Court*, let there be an *Inward Court* of the same Square, and Height; Which is to be environed, with the *Garden*, on all Sides: And in the Inside, Cloistered on all Sides, upon Decent and Beautifull Arches, as High as the first Story. On the *Under Story*, towards the *Garden*, Let it be turned to a *Grotta*, or Place of Shade, or Estivation. And onely have opening and *Windowes* towards the *Garden*; And be Levell upon the Floare, no whit sunke under Ground, to avoid all Dampishnesse. And let there be a *Fountaine*, or some faire *Worke of Statua's*, in the Middest of this *Court*; And to be Paved as the other Court was. These Buildings to be for *Privie Lodgings*, on both Sides; And the End, for *Privie Galleries*. Whereof, you must fore-see, that one of them, be for an *Infirmary*, if the Prince, or any Speciall Person should be Sicke, with *Chambers*, *Bed-chamber*, *Anticamera*, and *Recamera*, ioyning to it. This upon the Second

Story. Upon the *Ground Story*, a Faire *Gallery*, *Open*, upon *Pillars:* And upon the *Third Story* likewise, an *Open Gallery* upon *Pillars*, to take the Prospect, and Freshnesse of the *Garden*. At both Corners of the further Side, by way of Returne, Let there be two Delicate or Rich *Cabinets*, Daintily Paved, Richly Hanged, Glased with *Crystalline Glasse*, and a Rich *Cupola* in the Middest; And all other Elegancie that may be thought upon. In the *Upper Gallery* too,.I wish that there may be, if the Place will yeeld it, some *Fountaines* Running, in divers Places, from the Wall, with some fine Avoidances. And thus much, for the Modell of the *Pallace:* Save that, you must have, before you come to the *Front*, three Courts. *A Greene Court Plain*, with a Wall about it: *A Second Court* of the same, but more Garnished, with little Turrets, or rather Embellishments, upon the Wall: And a *Third Court*, to make a Square with the *Front*, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a Naked Wall, but enclosed with *Tarrasses*, Leaded aloft, and fairely garnished, on the three Sides; And Cloistered on the Inside, with Pillars, and not with Arches Below. As for *Offices*, let them stand at Distance, with some *Low Galleries*, to passe from them, to the *Pallace* it Selfe.

XLVI

Of Gardens

GOD *Almightie* first Planted a *Garden.* And indeed, it is the Purest of Humane pleasures. It is the Greatest Refreshment to the Spirits of Man; Without which, *Buildings* and *Pallaces* are but Grosse Handy-works: And a Man shall ever see, that when Ages grow to Civility and Elegancie, Men come to *Build Stately*, sooner then to *Garden Finely:* As if *Gardening* were the Greater Perfection. I doe hold it, in the Royall Ordering of *Gardens*, there ought to be *Gardens*, for all the *Moneths* in the Yeare: In which, severally, Things of Beautie, may be then in Season. For *December*, and *Ianuary*, and the Latter Part of *November*, you must take such Things, as are Greene all Winter: Holly; Ivy; Bayes; Iuniper; Cipresse Trees; Eugh; Pine-Apple-Trees; Firre-Trees; Rose-Mary; Lavander; Periwinckle, the White, the Purple, and the Blewe; Germander; Flagges; Orenge-Trees; Limon-Trees; And Mirtles, if they be stoved; & Sweet Marioram warme set. There followeth, for the latter Part of *Ianuary*, and *February*, the Mezerion Tree, which then blossomes; Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow,

and the Gray; Prime-Roses; Anemones; The Early Tulippa; Hiacynthus Orientalis; Chamaïris; Frettellaria. For *March*, There come Violets, specially the Single Blew, which are the Earliest; The Yellow Daffadill; The Dazie; The Almond-Tree in Blossome; The Peach-Tree in Blossome; The Cornelian-Tree in Blossome; Sweet-Briar. In *Aprill* follow, The Double white Violet; The Wall-flower; The Stock-Gilly-Flower; The Couslip; Flower-Delices, & Lillies of all Natures; Rose-mary Flowers; The Tulippa; The Double Piony; The Pale Daffadill; The French Honny-Suckle; The Cherry-Tree in Blossome; The Dammasin, and Plum-Trees in Blossome; The White-Thorne in Leafe; The Lelacke Tree. In *May*, and *Iune*, come Pincks of all sorts, Specially the Blush Pincke; Roses of all kinds, except the Muske, which comes later; Hony-Suckles; Strawberries; Buglosse; Columbine; The French Mary-gold; Flos Africanus; Cherry-Tree in Fruit; Ribes; Figges in Fruit; Raspes; Vine Flowers; Lavender in Flowers; The Sweet Satyrian, with the White Flower; Herba Muscaria; Lilium Convallium; The Apple-tree in Blossome. In *Iuly*, come Gilly-Flowers of all Varieties; Muske Roses; The Lime-Tree in blossome; Early Peares, and Plummes in Fruit; Ginnitings; Quadlins. In *August*, come Plummes of all sorts in Fruit; Peares; Apricockes; Berberies; Filberds; Muske-Melons; Monks Hoods, of all colours. In *September*, come Grapes; Apples; Poppies of all colours; Peaches; Melo-Cotones; Nectarines; Cornelians; Wardens;

Quinces. In *October*, and the beginning of *November*, come Services; Medlars; Bullises; Roses Cut or Removed to come late; Holly-okes; and such like. These Particulars are for the *Climate* of *London;* But my meaning is Perceived, that you may have *Ver Perpetuum*, as the Place affords.

And because, the *Breath* of Flowers, is farre Sweeter in the Aire, (where it comes and Goes, like the Warbling of Musick) then in the hand, therfore nothing is more fit for that delight, then to know, what be the *Flowers*, and *Plants*, that doe best perfume the Aire. Roses Damask & Red, are fast Flowers of their Smels; So that; you may walke by a whole Row of them, and finde Nothing of their Sweetnesse; Yea though it be, in a Mornings Dew. Bayes likewise yeeld no Smell, as they grow. Rosemary little; Nor Sweet-Marioram. That, which above all Others, yeelds the *Sweetest Smell* in the *Aire*, is the Violet; Specially the White-double-Violet, which comes twice a Yeare; About the middle of *Aprill*, and about *Bartholomew-tide*. Next to that is, the Muske-Rose. Then the Strawberry-Leaves dying, which [yeeld] a most Excellent Cordiall Smell. Then the Flower of the Vines; It is a little dust, like the dust of a Bent, which growes upon the Cluster, in the First comming forth. Then Sweet Briar. Then Wall-Flowers, which are very Delightfull, to be set under a Parler, or Lower Chamber Window. Then Pincks, and Gilly-Flowers, specially the Matted Pinck, & Clove Gilly-flower. Then the Flowers of the Lime tree. Then the Hony-Suckles, so they be

somewhat a farre off. Of Beane Flowers I speake not, because they are Field Flowers. But those which *Perfume* the Aire most delightfully, not *passed by* as the rest, but being *Troden upon* and *Crushed*, are Three: That is Burnet, Wilde-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore, you are to set whole Allies of them, to have the Pleasure, when you walke or tread.

For *Gardens*, (Speaking of those, which are indeed *Prince-like*, as we have done of *Buildings*) the Contents, ought not well to be, under *Thirty Acres of Ground;* And to be divided into three Parts: A *Greene* in the Entrance; A *Heath* or *Desart* in the Going forth; And the *Maine Garden* in the midst; Besides *Alleys*, on both Sides. And I like well, that Foure Acres of Ground, be assigned to the *Greene;* Six to the *Heath;* Foure and Foure to either *Side;* And Twelve to the *Maine Garden*. The Greene hath two pleasures; The one, because nothing is more Pleasant to the Eye, then Greene Grasse kept finely shorne; The other, because it will give you a faire Alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a *Stately Hedge*, which is to inclose the *Garden*. But, because the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Yeare, or Day, you ought not to buy the shade in the *Garden*, by Going in the Sunne thorow the *Greene*, therefore you are, of either *Side* the *Greene*, to Plant a *Covert Alley*, upon Carpenters Worke, about Twelve Foot in Height, by which you may goe in Shade, into the *Garden*. As for the Making of *Knots*, or *Figures*, with *Divers Coloured Earths*, that they may lie un-

der the Windowes of the House, on that Side, which the *Garden* stands, they be but Toyes: You may see as good Sights, many times, in Tarts. The *Garden* is best to be Square; Incompassed, on all the Foure Sides, with a *Stately Arched Hedge*. The *Arches* to be upon *Pillars*, of Carpenters Worke, of some Ten Foot high, and Six Foot broad: And the *Spaces* between, of the same Dimension, with the *Breadth* of the *Arch*. Over the *Arches*, let there bee an *Entire Hedge*, of some Foure Foot High, framed also upon Carpenters Worke: And upon the *Upper Hedge*, over every *Arch*, a little *Turret*, with a *Belly*, enough to receive a *Cage* of *Birds*: And over every *Space*, betweene the *Arches*, some other little *Figure*, with Broad Plates of *Round Coloured Glasse*, gilt, for the *Sunne*, to Play upon. But this *Hedge* I entend to be, raised upon a *Bancke*, not Steepe, but gently Slope, of some Six Foot, set all with *Flowers*. Also I understand, that this *Square* of the *Garden*, should not be the whole Breadth of the Ground, but to leave, on either Side, Ground enough, for diversity of *Side Alleys*: Unto which, the Two *Covert Alleys* of the *Greene*, may deliver you. But there must be, no *Alleys* with *Hedges*, at either *End*, of this great *Inclosure*: Not at the *Hither End*, for letting your Prospect upon this Faire Hedge from the *Greene*; Nor at the *Further End*, for letting your Prospect from the Hedge, through the Arches, upon the *Heath*.

For the Ordering of the Ground, within the *Great Hedge*, I leave it to Variety of Device; Advising neverthelesse, that whatsoever forme

you cast it into, first it be not too Busie, or full of Worke. Wherein I, for my part, doe not like *Images Cut out* in *Iuniper*, or other *Garden stuffe:* They be for Children. *Little low Hedges*, Round, like Welts, with some Pretty *Pyramides*, I like well: And in some Places, *Faire Columnes* upon Frames of Carpenters Worke. I would also, have the *Alleys*, Spacious and Faire. You may have *Closer Alleys* upon the *Side Grounds*, but none in the *Maine Garden*. I wish also, in the very Middle, a *Faire Mount*, with three Ascents, and Alleys, enough for foure to walke a breast; Which I would have to be Perfect Circles, without any Bulwarkes, or Imbosments; And the *Whole Mount*, to be Thirty Foot high; And some fine *Banquetting House*, with some *Chimneys* neatly cast, and without too much *Glasse*.

For *Fountaines*, they are a great Beauty, and Refreshment; But *Pooles* marre all, and make the *Garden* unwholsome, and full of Flies, and Frogs. *Fountaines* I intend to be of two Natures: The One, that *Sprinckleth* or *Spouteth Water;* The Other a *Faire Receipt* of *Water*, of some Thirty or Forty Foot Square, but without Fish, or Slime, or Mud. For the first, the *Ornaments* of *Images Gilt*, or of *Marble*, which are in use, doe well: But the maine Matter is, so to Convey the Water, as it never Stay, either in the Bowles, or in the Cesterne; That the Water be never by Rest *Discoloured*, *Greene*, or *Red*, or the like; Or gather any *Mossinesse* or *Putrefaction*. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the Hand. Also some *Steps* up

to it, and some *Fine Pavement* about it, doth well. As for the other Kinde of *Fountaine*, which we may call a *Bathing Poole*, it may admit much Curiosity, and Beauty; wherewith we will not trouble our selves: As, that the Bottome be finely Paved, And with Images: The sides likewise; And withall Embellished with Coloured Glasse, and such Things of Lustre; Encompassed also, with fine Railes of Low Statua's. But the Maine Point is the same, which we mentioned, in the former Kinde of *Fountaine;* which is, that the *Water* be in *Perpetuall Motion*, Fed by a Water higher then the *Poole*, and Delivered into it by faire Spouts, and then discharged away under Ground, by some Equalitie of Bores, that it stay little. And for fine Devices, of Arching Water without Spilling, and Making it rise in severall Formes, (of Feathers, Drinking Glasses, Canopies, and the like,) they be pretty things to looke on, but Nothing to Health and Sweetnesse.

For the *Heath*, which was the Third Part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a *Naturall wildnesse. Trees* I would have none in it; But some *Thickets*, made onely of *Sweet-Briar*, and *Honny-suckle*, and some *Wilde Vine* amongst; And the Ground set with *Violets*, *Strawberries*, and *Prime-Roses*. For these are Sweet, and prosper in the Shade. And these to be in the *Heath*, here and there, not in any Order. I like also little *Heaps*, in the Nature of *Mole-hils*, (such as are in *Wilde Heaths*) to be set, some with Wilde Thyme; Some with Pincks; Some with Germander, that gives a

good Flower to the Eye; Some with Periwinckle; Some with Violets; Some with Strawberries; Some with Couslips; Some with Daisies; Some with Red-Roses; Some with Lilium Convallium; Some with Sweet-Williams Red; Some with Beares-Foot; And the like Low Flowers, being withal Sweet, and Sightly. Part of which *Heapes*, to be with *Standards*, of little *Bushes*, prickt upon their Top, and Part without. The *Standards* to be Roses; Iuniper; Holly; Beare-berries (but here and there, because of the Smell of their Blossome;) Red Currans; Goose-berries; Rose-Mary; Bayes; Sweet-Briar; and such like. But these *Standards*, to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Course.

For the *Side Grounds*, you are to fill them with *Varietie* of *Alleys*, Private, to give a full Shade; Some of them, wheresoever the Sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for Shelter, that when the Wind blows Sharpe, you may walke, as in a Gallery. And those Alleys must be likewise hedged, at both Ends, to keepe out the Wind; And these *Closer Alleys*, must bee ever finely Gravelled, and no Grasse, because of Going wet. In many of these *Alleys* likewise, you are to set *Fruit-Trees* of all Sorts; As well upon the Walles, as in Ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the *Borders*, wherin you plant your *Fruit-Trees*, be Faire and Large, and Low, and not Steepe; And Set with *Fine Flowers*, but thin and sparingly, lest they Deceive the *Trees*. At the End of both the *Side Grounds*, I would have a *Mount*

of some Pretty Height, leaving the Wall of the Enclosure Brest high, to looke abroad into the Fields.

For the *Maine Garden*, I doe not Deny, but there should be some Faire *Alleys*, ranged on both Sides, with *Fruit Trees;* And some Pretty *Tufts* of *Fruit Trees*, And *Arbours* with *Seats*, set in some Decent Order; But these to be, by no Meanes, set too thicke; But to leave the *Maine Garden*, so as it be not close, but the Aire Open and Free. For as for *Shade*, I would have you rest, upon the *Alleys* of the *Side Grounds*, there to walke, if you be Disposed, in the Heat of the Yeare, or day; But to make Account, that the *Maine Garden*, is for the more Temperate Parts of the yeare; And in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning, and the Evening, or Over-cast Dayes.

For *Aviaries*, I like them not, except they be of that Largenesse, as they may be *Turffed*, and have *Living Plants*, and *Bushes*, set in them; That the *Birds* may have more Scope, and Naturall Neastling, and that no *Foulenesse* appeare, in the *Floare* of the *Aviary*. So I have made a Platforme of a *Princely Garden*, Partly by Precept, Partly by Drawing, not a Modell, but some generall Lines of it; And in this I have spared for no Cost. But it is Nothing, for *Great Princes*, that for the most Part, taking Advice with Workmen, with no Lesse Cost, set their Things together; And sometimes adde *Statua's*, and such Things, for State, and Magnificence, but nothing to the true Pleasure of a *Garden*.

XLVII

Of Negociating

IT is generally better to *deale* by Speech, then by Letter; And by the Mediation of a Third, then by a Mans Selfe. Letters are good, when a Man would draw an Answer by Letter backe againe; Or when it may serve, for a Mans Iustification, afterwards to produce his owne Letter; Or where it may be Danger to be interrupted, or heard by Peeces. To *deale in Person* is good, when a Mans Face breedeth Regard, as Commonly with Inferiours; Or in Tender Cases, where a Mans Eye, upon the Countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a Direction, how farre to goe: And generally, where a Man will reserve to himselfe Libertie, either to Disavow, or to Expound. In Choice of *Instruments*, it is better, to choose Men of a Plainer Sort, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the Successe; Then those, that are Cunning to Contrive out of other Mens Businesse, somewhat to grace themselves; And will helpe the Matter, in Report, for Satisfaction

O 2

sake. Use also, such Persons, as affect the Businesse, wherin they are Employed; For that quickneth much; And such, as are Fit for the Matter; As Bold Men for Expostulation, Faire spoken Men for Perswasion, Craftie Men for Enquiry and Observation, Froward and Absurd Men for Businesse that doth not well beare out it Selfe. Use also such, as have beene Luckie, and Prevailed before in Things wherein you have Emploied them; For that breeds Confidence, and they will strive to maintaine their Prescription. It is better, to sound a Person, with whom one *Deales*, a farre off, then to fall upon the Point at first; Except you meane to surprize him by some Short Question. It is better *Dealing* with Men in Appetite, then with those that are where they would be. If a Man *Deale* with another upon Conditions, the Start or First Performance is all; Which a Man cannot reasonably Demaund, except either the Nature of the Thing be such, which must goe before; Or Else a Man can perswade the other Partie, that hee shall still need him, in some other Thing; Or else that he be counted the Honester Man. All Practise, is to *Discover*, or to *Worke*. Men *Discover* themselves, in Trust; In Passion; At unawares; And of Necessitie, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot finde an apt Pretext. If you would *Worke* any Man, you must either know his Nature, and Fashions, and so Lead him; Or his Ends, and so Perswade him; Or his Weaknesse, and Disadvantages, and so Awe him; or those that have Interest in him, and so Governe him. In

Dealing with Cunning Persons, we must ever Consider their Ends, to interpret their Speeches; And it is good, to say little to them, and that which they least looke for. In all *Negociations* of Difficultie, a Man may not looke, to Sowe and Reape at once; But must Prepare Businesse, and so Ripen it by Degrees.

XLVIII

Of Followers and Frends

COSTLY *Followers* are not to be liked; Lest while a Man maketh his Traine Longer, hee make his Wings Shorter. I reckon to bee Costly, not them alone, which charge the Purse, but which are Wearisome and Importune in Sutes. Ordinary *Followers* ought to challenge no Higher Conditions, then Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from Wrongs. Factious *Followers* are worse to be liked, which Follow not upon Affection to him, with whom they range Themselves, but upon Discontentment Conceived against some Other: Whereupon commonly ensueth, that Ill Intelligence, that we many times see betweene Great Personages. Likewise Glorious *Followers*, who make themselves as Trumpets, of the Commendation of those they Follow, are full of Inconvenience; For they taint Businesse through Want of Secrecie; And they Export Honour from a Man, and make him a Returne in Envie. There is a Kinde of *Followers* likewise, which are Dangerous, being indeed Espials; which

enquire the Secrets of the House, and beare Tales of them to Others. Yet such Men, many times, are in great Favour; For they are Officious, And commonly Exchange Tales. The *Following* by certaine *Estates* of *Men*, answerable to that, which a Great Person himselfe professeth, (as of Soldiers to him that hath been Employed in the Warres, and the like,) hath ever beene a Thing Civill, and well taken even in Monarchies; So it be without too much Pompe or Popularitie. But the most Honourable Kinde of *Following*, is to be Followed, as one that apprehendeth, to advance Vertue and Desert, in all Sorts of Persons. And yet, where there is no Eminent Odds in Sufficiencie, it is better to take with the more Passable, then with the more Able. And besides, to speake Truth, in Base Times, Active Men are of more use, then Vertuous. It is true, that in Government, it is Good to use Men of one Rancke equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them Insolent, and the rest Discontent; Because they may claime a Due. But contrariwise in Favour, to use Men with much Difference and Election, is Good; For it maketh the Persons Preferred more Thankfull, and the Rest more officious; Because all is of Favour. It is good Discretion, not to make too much of any Man, at the first; Because One cannot hold out that Proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by One, is not safe: For it shewes Softnesse, and gives a Freedome to Scandall and Disreputation: For those that would not Censure, or Speake ill of a Man immediatly, will talke more

boldly of Those, that are so great with them, and thereby Wound their Honour. Yet to be Distracted with many is Worse; For it makes Men, to be of the Last Impression, and full of Change. To take Advice of some few Frends is ever Honourable; *For Lookers on, many times, see more then Gamesters; And the Vale best discovereth the Hill.* There is Little Frendship in the World, and Least of all betweene Equals, which was wont to be Magnified. That that is, is between Superiour and Inferiour, whose Fortunes may Comprehend, the One the Other.

XLIX

Of Sutours

MANY ill Matters and Proiects are undertaken; And Private *Sutes* do Putrifie the Publique Good. Many Good Matters are undertaken with Bad Mindes; I meane not onely Corrupt Mindes, but Craftie Mindes, that intend not Performance. Some embrace *Sutes*, which never meane to deale effectually in them; But if they see, there may be life in the Matter, by some other meane, they will be content to winne a Thanke, or take a Second Reward, or at least to make Use, in the meane time, of the *Sutours* Hopes. Some take hold of *Sutes*, onely for an Occasion, to Crosse some other; Or to make an Information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt Pretext; without Care what become of the *Sute*, when that Turne is served: Or generally, to make other Mens Businesse, a Kinde of Entertainment, to bring in their owne. Nay, some undertake *Sutes*, with a full Purpose, to let them fall; To the end, to gratifiè the Adverse Partie, or Competitour. Surely, there is, in some sort, a Right in every *Sute:* Either a

Right of Equity, if it be a *Sute* of Controversie; Or a Right of Desert, if it be a *Sute* of Petition. If Affection lead a Man, to favour the Wrong Side in Iustice, let him rather use his Countenance, to Compound the Matter, then to Carry it. If Affection lead a Man, to favour the lesse Worthy in Desert, let him doe it without Depraving or Disabling the Better Deserver. In *Sutes*, which a man doth not well understand, it is good to referre them, to some Frend of Trust and Iudgement, that may report whether hee may deale in them with Honour: But let him chuse well his Referendaries, for else he may be led by the Nose. *Sutours* are so distasted with Delayes, and Abuses, that Plaine Dealing, in denying to deale in *Sutes* at first, and Reporting the Successe barely, and in Challenging no more Thanks then one hath deserved, is grown not onely Honourable, but also Gracious. In *Sutes* of Favour, the first Comming ought to take little Place: So farre forth Consideration may bee had of his Trust, that if Intelligence of the Matter, could not otherwise have beene had, but by him, Advantage bee not taken of the Note, but the Partie left to his other Meanes; and, in some sort, Recompenced for his Discoverie. To be Ignorant of the value of a *Sute*, is Simplicitie; As well as to be Ignorant of the Right thereof, is Want of Conscience. Secrecie in *Sutes*, is a great Meane of Obtaining; For voycing them, to bee in Forwardnesse, may discourage some Kinde of *Sutours*; But doth Quicken and Awake Others. But Timing of the *Sute*, is the Principall. Timing, I say, not

onely in respect of the Person, that should grant it, but in respect of those, which are like to Crosse it. Let a Man, in the choice of his Meane, rather choose the Fittest Meane, then the Greatest Meane: And rather them, that deale in certaine Things, then those that are Generall. The Reparation of a Deniall, is somtimes Equall to the first Grant; If a Man shew himselfe, neither deiected, nor discontented. *Iniquum petas, ut Æquum feras;* is a good Rule, where a Man hath Strength of Favour: But otherwise, a man were better rise in his *Sute;* For he that would have ventured at first to have lost the *Sutour*, will not in the Conclusion, lose both the *Sutour*, and his owne former Favour. Nothing is thought so Easie a Request, to a great Person, as his Letter; And yet, if it be not in a Good Cause, it is so much out of his Reputation. There are no worse Instruments, then these Generall Contrivers of *Sutes:* For they are but a Kinde of Poyson and Infection to Publique Proceedings.

L

Of Studies

STUDIES serve for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability. Their Chiefe Use for Delight, is in Privatenesse and Retiring; For Ornament, is in Discourse; And for Ability, is in the Iudgement and Disposition of Businesse. For Expert Men can Execute, and perhaps Iudge of particulars, one by one; But the generall Counsels, and the Plots, and Marshalling of Affaires, come best from those that are *Learned.* To spend too much Time in *Studies,* is Sloth; To use them too much for Ornament, is Affectation; To make Iudgement wholly by their Rules is the Humour of a Scholler. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by Experience: For Naturall Abilities, are like Naturall Plants, that need Proyning by *Study:* And *Studies* themselves, doe give forth Directions too much at Large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty Men Contemne *Studies;* Simple Men Admire them; And Wise Men Use them: For they teach not their owne Use; But that is a Wisdome without them, and above them, won

by Observation. Reade not to Contradict, and Confute; Nor to Beleeve and Take for granted; Nor to Finde Talke and Discourse; But to weigh and Consider. Some *Bookes* are to be Tasted, Others to be Swallowed, and Some Few to be Chewed and Digested: That is, some *Bookes* are to be read onely in Parts; Others to be read but not Curiously; And some Few to be read wholly, and with Diligence and Attention. Some *Bookes* also may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by Others: But that would be, onely in the lesse important Arguments, and the Meaner Sort of *Bookes*: else distilled *Bookes*, are like Common distilled Waters, Flashy Things. Reading maketh a Full Man; Conference a Ready Man; And Writing an Exact Man. And therefore, If a Man Write little, he had need have a Great memory; If he Conferre little, he had need have a Present Wit; And if he Reade litle, he had need have much Cunning, to seeme to know that, he doth not. *Histories* make Men Wise; *Poets* Witty; The *Mathematicks* Subtill; *Naturall Philosophy* deepe; *Morall* Grave; *Logick* and *Rhetorick* Able to Contend. *Abeunt studia in Mores.* Nay there is no Stond or Impediment in the Wit, but may be wrought out by Fit *Studies*: Like as Diseases of the Body, may have Appropriate Exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Reines; Shooting for the Lungs and Breast; Gentle Walking for the Stomacke; Riding for the Head; And the like. So if a Mans Wit be Wandring, let him *Study* the *Mathematicks*; For in Demonstrations, if his Wit be called

away never so little, he must begin again: If his Wit be not Apt to distinguish or find differences, let him *Study* the *Schoole-men;* For they are *Cymini sectores.* If he be not Apt to beat over Matters, and to call up one Thing, to Prove and Illustrate another, let him *Study* the *Lawyers Cases:* So every Defect of the Minde, may have a Speciall Receit.

LI

Of Faction

MANY have an Opinion not wise; That for a Prince to Governe his Estate; Or for a Great Person to governe his Proceedings, according to the Respect of *Factions*, is a Principall Part of Policy: whereas contrariwise, the Chiefest Wisdome is, either in Ordering those Things, which are Generall, and wherein Men of Severall *Factions* doe neverthelesse agree; Or in dealing with Correspondence to Particular Persons, one by one. But I say not, that the consideration of *Factions*, is to be Neglected. Meane Men, in their Rising, must adhere; But Great Men, that have Strength in themselves, were better to maintaine themselves Indifferent, and Neutrall. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as hee bee a Man of the one *Faction*, which is most Passable with the other, commonly giveth best Way. The Lower and Weaker *Faction*, is the firmer in Coniunction: And it is often seene, that a few, that are Stiffe, doe tire out, a greater Number, that are more Moderate. When One of the *Factions* is Extin-

guished, the Remaining Subdivideth: As the *Faction*, betweene *Lucullus*, and the Rest of the Nobles of the Senate (which they called *Optimates*) held out a while, against the *Faction* of *Pompey* and *Cæsar:* But when the Senates Authority was pulled Downe, *Cæsar* and *Pompey* soone after brake. The *Faction* or Partie of *Antonius*, and *Octavianus Cæsar*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, held out likewise for a time: But when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were overthrowne, then soone after *Antonius* and *Octavianus* brake and Subdivided. These Examples are of Warres, but the same holdeth in Private *Factions*. And therefore, those that are Seconds in *Factions*, doe many times, when the *Faction* Subdivideth, prove Principals: But many times also, they prove Ciphars and Casheer'd: For many a Mans Strength is in opposition; And when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seene, that Men once Placed, take in with the Contrary *Faction* to that, by which they enter; Thinking belike that they have the First Sure; And now are Readie for a New Purchase. The Traitour in *Faction* lightly goeth away with it; For when Matters have stucke long in Ballancing, the Winning of some one Man casteth them, and he getteth all the Thankes. The Even Carriage betweene two *Factions*, proceedeth not alwaies of Moderation, but of a Truenesse to a Mans Selfe, with End to make use of both. Certainly in *Italy*, they hold it a little suspect in *Popes*, when they have often in their Mouth, *Padre commune:* And take it, to be a Signe of one, that meaneth to referre all, to the

Greatnesse of his owne House. Kings had need beware, how they Side themselves, and make themselves as of a *Faction* or Partie: For Leagues, within the State, are ever Pernicious to Monarchies; For they raise an Obligation, Paramount to Obligation of Soveraigntie, and make the King, *Tanquàm unus ex nobis:* As was to be seene, in the *League* of *France.* When •*Factions* are carried too high, and too violently, it is a Signe of Weaknesse in Princes; And much to the Preiudice, both of their Authoritie, and Businesse. The Motions of *Factions*, under Kings, ought to be like the Motions (as the *Astronomers* speake) of the Inferiour Orbs; which may have their Proper Motions, but yet still, are quietly carried, by the Higher Motion, of *Primum Mobile.*

LII

Of Ceremonies and Respects

HE that is only Reall, had need have Exceeding great Parts of Vertue: As the Stone had need to be Rich, that is set without Foile. But if a Man marke it well, it is in praise and Commendation of Men, as it is in Gettings and Gaines: For the Proverbe is true, *That light Gaines make heavy Purses;* For light Gaines come thick, whereas Great come but now and then. So it is true, that Small Matters win great Commendation, because they are continually in Use, and in note: whereas the Occasion of any great Vertue, commeth but on Festivals. Therefore it doth much adde, to a Mans Reputation, and is, (as Queene *Isabella* said) *Like perpetuall Letters Commendatory*, to have good *Formes*. To Attaine them, it almost sufficeth, not to despise them: For so shall a Man observe them in Others: And let him trust himselfe with the rest. For if he Labour too much to Expresse them, he shall lose their Grace; Which is to be Naturall and Unaffected. Some Mens Behaviour, is like a Verse, wherein

every Syllable is Measured: How can a man comprehend great Matters, that breaketh his Minde too much to small Observations? Not to use *Ceremonies* at all, is to teach Others not to use them againe; And so diminisheth *Respect* to himselfe: Especially they be not to be omitted to Strangers, and Formall Natures: But the Dwelling upon them, & Exalting them above the Moone, is not only Tedious, but doth Diminish the Faith and Credit of him that speakes. And certainly, there is a Kinde, of Conveying of Effectuall and Imprinting Passages, amongst Complements, which is of Singular use, if a Man can hit upon it. Amongst a Mans Peeres, a Man shall be sure of Familiaritie; And therefore, it is good a little to keepe State. Amongst a Mans Inferiours, one shall be sure of Reverence; And therefore it is good a little to be Familiar. He that is too much in any Thing, so that he giveth another Occasion of Sacietie, maketh himselfe cheape. To apply Ones Selfe to others, is good: So it be with Demonstration, that a Man doth it upon Regard, And not upon Facilitie. It is a good Precept, generally in Seconding Another, yet to adde somewhat of Ones Owne: As if you will grant his Opinion, let it be with some Distinction; If you will follow his Motion, let it bee with Condition; If you allow his Counsell, let it be with Alledging further Reason. Men had need beware, how they be too Perfect in Complements; For be they never so Sufficient otherwise, their Enviers will be sure to give them that Attribute, to the Disadvantage of their greater Vertues. It is

losse also in businesse, to be too full of *Respects*, or to be too Curious in Observing Times and Opportunities. *Salomon* saith; *He that considereth the wind, shall not Sow, and he that looketh to the Clouds, shall not reape.* A wise Man will make more Opportunities then he findes. Mens Behaviour should be like their Apparell, not too Strait, or point Device, but Free for Exercise or Motion.

LIII

Of Praise

PRAISE is the Reflection of Vertue. But it is as the Glasse or Bodie, which giveth the Reflection. If it be from the Common People, it is commonly False and Naught: And rather followeth Vaine Persons, then Vertuous: For the Common People understand not many Excellent Vertues: The Lowest Vertues draw *Praise* from them; The middle Vertues worke in them Astonishment, or Admiration; But of the Highest Vertues, they have no Sense, or Perceiving at all. But Shewes, and *Species virtutibus similes*, serve best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a River, that beareth up Things Light and Swolne, And Drownes Things waighty and Solide: But if persons of Qualitie and Iudgement concurre, then it is, (as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis.* It filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the Odours of Oyntments, are more Durable, then those of Flowers. There be so many False Points of *Praise*, that a Man may iustly hold it a Suspect. Some *Praises* proceed

meerely of Flattery; And if hee be an Ordinary Flatterer, he will have certaine Common Attributes, which may serve every Man; If he be a Cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch-flatterer, which is a Mans selfe; and wherein a Man thinketh best of himselfe, therein the Flatterer will uphold him most: But if he be an Impudent Flatterer, look wherin a Man is Conscious to himselfe, that he is most Defective, and is most out of Countenance in himselfe, that will the Flatterer Entitle him to, perforce, *Spretâ Conscientiâ.* Some *Praises* come of good Wishes, and Respects, which is a Forme due in Civilitie to Kings, and Great Persons, *Laudando præcipere;* When by telling Men, what they are, they represent to them, what they should be. Some Men are *Praised* Maliciously to their Hurt, therby to stirre Envie and Iealousie towards them; *Pessimum genus Inimicorum laudantium;* In so much as it was a Proverb, amongst the *Grecians;* that, *He that was praised to his Hurt, should have a Push rise upon his Nose:* As we say; *That a Blister will rise upon ones Tongue, that tell's a lye.* Certainly Moderate *Praise,* used with Opportunity, and not Vulgar, is that which doth the Good. *Salomon* saith, *He that praiseth his Frend aloud, Rising Early, it shall be to him, no better then a Curse.* Too much Magnifying of Man or Matter, doth irritate Contradiction, and procure Envie and Scorne. To *Praise* a Mans selfe, cannot be Decent, except it be in rare Cases: But to *Praise* a Mans Office or Profession, he may doe it with Good Grace, and with

a Kinde of Magnanimitie. The *Cardinals* of *Rome*, which are Theologues, and Friars, and Schoole-men, have a Phrase of Notable Contempt and Scorne, towards Civill Businesse: For they call all Temporall Businesse, of Warres, Embassages, Iudicature, & other Emploiments, *Sbirrerie;* which is, *Under-Sheriffries;* As if they were but matters for Under-Sheriffes and Catchpoles; Though many times, those *Under-sheriffferies* doe more good, then their High Speculations., *St. Paul*, when he boasts of himselfe, he doth oft enterlace; *I speake like a Foole;* But speaking of his Calling, he saith; *Magnificabo Apostolatum meum.*

LIIII

Of Vaine-Glory

IT was prettily Devised of *Æsope; The Fly sate upon the Axle-tree of the Chariot wheele, and said, What a Dust doe I raise?* So are there some *Vaine Persons*, that whatsoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater Means, if they have never so little Hand in it, they thinke it is they that carry it. They that are *Glorious*, must needs be *Factious;* For all Bravery stands upon Comparisons. They must needs be *Violent*, to make good their owne Vaunts. Neither can they be *Secret*, and therefore not Effectuall; but according to the *French* Proverb; *Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit: Much Bruit, little Fruit.* Yet certainly there is Use of this Qualitie, in Civill Affaires. Where there is an Opinion, and Fame to be created, either of Vertue, or Greatnesse, these Men are good Trumpetters. Again, as *Titus Livius* noteth, in the Case of *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians; There are sometimes great Effects of Crosse Lies;* As if a Man, that Negotiates between Two Princes, to draw them to ioyne in a

Warre against the Third, doth extoll the Forces of either of them, above Measure, the One to the Other: And sometimes, he that deales between Man and Man, raiseth his owne Credit, with Both, by pretending greater Interest, then he hath in Either. And in these, and the like Kindes, it often falls out, that *Somewhat* is produced of *Nothing:* For Lies are sufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on Substance. In Militar Commanders and Soldiers, *Vaine-Glory* is an Essentiall Point; For as Iron sharpens Iron, so by *Glory* one Courage sharpneth another. In Cases of great Enterprise, upon Charge and Adventure, a Composition of *Glorious* Natures, doth put Life into Businesse; And those that are of Solide and Sober Natures, have more of the Ballast, then of the Saile. In Fame of Learning, the Flight will be slow, without some Feathers of *Ostentation. Qui de contemnendâ Gloriâ Libros scribunt, Nomen suum inscribunt. Socrates, Aristotle, Galen,* were Men full of *Ostentation.* Certainly *Vaine-Glory* helpeth to Perpetuate a Mans Memory; And Vertue was never so Beholding to Humane Nature, as it received his due at the Second Hand. Neither had the Fame of *Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus,* borne her Age so well, if it had not been ioyned, with some *Vanity* in themselves: Like unto Varnish, that makes Seelings not onely Shine, but Last. But all this while, when I speake of *Vaine-Glory,* I meane not of that Property, that *Tacitus* doth attribute to *Mucianus; Omnium, quæ dixerat, feceratque, Arte quadam Ostentator:* For that proceeds not

of *Vanity*, but of Naturall Magnanimity, and discretion: And in some Persons, is not onely Comely, but Gracious. For Excusations, Cessions, Modesty it selfe well Governed, are but Arts of *Ostentation*. And amongst those Arts, there is none better, then that which *Plinius Secundus* speaketh of; which is to be Liberall of Praise and Commendation to others, in that, wherein a Mans Selfe hath any Perfection. For saith *Pliny* very Wittily; *In commending Another, you doe your selfe right; For he that you Commend, is either Superiour to you, in that you Commend, or Inferiour. If he be Inferiour, if he be to be Commended, you much more: If he be Superiour, if he be not to be commended, you much lesse. Glorious* Men are the Scorne of Wise Men; the Admiration of Fooles; the Idols of Parasites; And the Slaves of their own Vaunts.

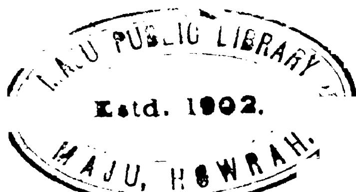
LV

Of Honour and Reputation

THE Winning of *Honour*, is but the Revealing of a Mans Vertue and Worth, without Disadvantage. For some in their Actions, doe Wooe and affect *Honour*, and *Reputation*: Which Sort of Men, are commonly much Talked of, but inwardly little Admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their Vertue, in the Shew of it; So as they be under-valued in opinion. If a Man performe that which hath not beene attempted before; Or attempted & given over; Or hath beene atchieved, but not with so good Circumstance; he shall purchase more *Honour*, then by Effecting a Matter of greater Difficulty, or Vertue, wherein he is but a Follower. If a Man so temper his Actions, as in some one of them, hee doth content everie Faction, or Combination of People, the Musicke will bee the fuller. A man is an ill Husband of his *Honour*, that entreth into any Action, the Failing wherein may disgrace him more, then the Carying of it through can *Honor* him. *Honour*, that is gained and broken upon Another, hath the

quickest Reflection; Like Diamonds cut with Fascets. And therefore, let a Man contend, to excell any Competitors of his in *Honour*, in Out-shooting them, if he can, in their owne Bowe. Discreet Followers and Servants helpe much to *Reputation: Omnis Fama à Domesticis emanat.* Envy, which is the Canker of *Honour*, is best extinguished, by declaring a Mans Selfe, in his Ends, rather to seeke Merit, then Fame: And by Attributing a Mans Successes, rather to divine Providence and Felicity, then to his owne Vertue or Policy. The true Marshalling of the Degrees of *Soveraigne Honour* are these. In the First Place are *Conditores Imperiorum; Founders of States*, and *Common-Wealths:* Such as were *Romulus*, *Cyrus*, *Cæsar*, *Ottoman*, *Ismael.* In the Second Place are *Legis-latores, Lawgivers;* which are also called, *Second Founders*, or *Perpetui Principes*, because they Governe by their Ordinances, after they are gone: Such were *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Iustinian*, *Eadgar*, *Alphonsus* of *Castile*, the Wise, that made the *Siete Partidas.* In the Third Place, are *Liberatores*, or *Salvatores:* Such as compound the long Miseries of Civill Warres, or deliver their Countries from Servitude of Strangers, or Tyrants; As *Augustus Cæsar*, *Vespasianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Theodoricus*, K. *Henry* the 7. of *England*, K. *Henry* the 4. of *France.* In the Fourth Place, are *Propagatores* or *Propugnatores Imperij;* Such as in Honourable Warres enlarge their Territories, or make Noble defence against Invaders. And in the Last Place, are *Patres Patriæ;* which reigne iustly, & make

the Times good, wherein they live. Both which last Kindes, need no Examples, they are in such Number. Degrees of *Honour* in *Subiects* are; First, *Participes Curarum;* Those upon whom Princes doe discharge the greatest Weight of their Affaires; Their *Right Hands*, as we call them. The Next are, *Duces Belli*, *Great Leaders;* Such as are Princes Lieutenants, and doe them Notable Services in the Warres. The Third are, *Gratiosi; Favourites;* Such as exceed not this Scantling; To be Solace to the Soveraigne, and Harmelesse to the People. And the Fourth, *Negotijs pares;* Such as have great Places under Princes, and execute their Places with Sufficiency. There is an *Honour* likewise, which may be ranked amongst the Greatest, which happeneth rarely: That is, of such as *Sacrifice themselves*, to *Death* or *Danger*, for the *Good* of *their Countrey:* As was *M. Regulus*, and the Two *Decij*.



LVI

Of Judicature

IUDGES ought to remember, that their Office is *Ius dicere*, and not *Ius dare; To Interpret Law*, and not to *Make Law*, or *Give Law*. Else will it be like the Authority, claimed by the *Church* of *Rome;* which under pretext of Exposition of Scripture, doth not sticke to Adde and Alter; And to Pronounce that, which they doe not Finde; And by *Shew* of *Antiquitie*, to introduce *Noveltie*. *Iudges* ought to be more Learned, then Wittie; More Reverend, then Plausible; And more Advised, then Confident. Above all Things, Integritie is their Portion, and Proper Vertue. *Cursed* (saith the Law) *is hee that removeth the Land-marke.* The Mislaier of a *Meere Stone* is to blame. But it is the Uniust *Iudge*, that is the Capitall Remover of Land-markes, when he Defineth amisse of Lands and Propertie. One Foule Sentence, doth more Hurt, then many Foule Examples. For these doe but Corrupt the Streame; The other Corrupteth the Fountaine. So saith *Salomon; Fons turbatus, & Vena corrupta, est Iustus cadens in causâ suâ coram Adversario.* The

Office of *Iudges*, may have Reference, Unto the *Parties that sue;* Unto the *Advocates that Plead;* Unto the *Clerkes* and *Ministers of Iustice* underneath them; And to the *Soveraigne* or *State* above them.

First, for the *Causes* or *Parties that Sue. There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turne Iudgement into Worme-wood;* And surely, there be also, that turne it into *Vinegar;* For Iniustice maketh it Bitter, and Delaies make it Soure. The Principall Dutie of a *Iudge*, is to suppresse Force and Fraud; whereof Force is the more Pernicious, when it is Open; And Fraud, when it is Close and Disguised. Adde thereto Contentious Suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the Surfet of Courts. A *Iudge* ought to prepare his Way to a Iust Sentence, as *God* useth to prepare his Way, by *Raising Valleys*, and *Taking downe Hills:* So when there appeareth on either side, an High Hand; Violent Prosecution, Cunning Advantages taken, Combination, Power, Great Counsell, then is the Vertue of a *Iudge* seene, to make Inequalitie Equall; That he may plant his *Iudgement*, as upon an Even Ground. *Qui fortitèr emungit, elicit sanguinem;* And where the Wine-Presse is hard wrought, it yeelds a harsh Wine, that tastes of the Grape-stone. *Iudges* must beware of Hard Constructions, and Strained Inferences; For there is no Worse Torture, then the Torture of Lawes. Specially in case of Lawes Penall, they ought to have Care, that that which was meant for Terrour, be not turned into Rigour; And that they bring not upon the People, that Shower,

whereof the Scripture speaketh; *Pluet super eos Laqueos:* For Penall Lawes Pressed, are a *Shower of Snares* upon the People. Therefore, let *Penall Lawes*, if they have beene Sleepers of long, or if they be growne unfit for the present Time, be by Wise *Iudges* confined in the Execution;

Iudicis Officium est, ut Res, ita Tempora Rerum, &c.

In *Causes* of *Life* and *Death; Iudges* ought (as farre as the Law permitteth) in Iustice to remember Mercy; And to Cast a Severe Eye upon the Example, but a Mercifull Eye upon the Person.

Secondly, for the *Advocates* and *Counsell that Plead:* Patience and Gravitie of Hearing, is an Essentiall Part of Iustice; And an Overspeaking *Iudge* is no *well tuned Cymball.* It is no Grace to a *Iudge*, first to finde that, which hee might have heard, in due time, from the Barre; or to shew Quicknesse of Conceit in Cutting off Evidence or Counsell too short; Or to prevent Information, by Questions though Pertinent. The Parts of a *Iudge* in Hearing are Foure: To direct the Evidence; To Moderate Length, Repetition, or Impertinency of Speech; To Recapitulate, Select, and Collate, the Materiall Points of that, which hath beene said; And to Give the Rule or Sentence. Whatsoever is above these, is too much; And proceedeth, Either of Glory and willingnesse to Speake; Or of Impatience to Heare; Or of Shortnesse of Memorie; Or of Want of a Staid

and Equall Attention. It is a Strange Thing to see, that the Boldnesse of *Advocates*, should prevaile with *Iudges;* Whereas they should imitate *God*, in whose Seat they sit; who *represseth the Presumptuous*, and *giveth Grace to the Modest*. But it is more Strange, that *Iudges* should have Noted Favourites; Which cannot but Cause Multiplication of Fees, and Suspicion of By-waies. There is due from the *Iudge*, to the *Advocate*, some Commendation and Gracing, where *Causes* are well Handled, and faire Pleaded; Especially towards the Side which obtaineth not; For that upholds, in the *Client*, the Reputation of his *Counsell*, and beats downe, in him, the Conceit of his *Cause*. There is likewise due to the *Publique*, a Civill Reprehension of *Advocates*, where there appeareth Cunning Counsel, Grosse Neglect, Slight Information, Indiscreet Pressing, or an Over-bold Defence. And let not the *Counsell* at the Barre, chop with the *Iudge*, nor winde himselfe into the handling of the *Cause* anew, after the *Iudge* hath Declared his Sentence: But on the other side, Let not the *Iudge* meet the *Cause* halfe Way; Nor give Occasion to the Partie to say; *His Counsell or Proofes were not heard.*

Thirdly, for that that concernes *Clerks*, and *Ministers*. The Place of *Iustice*, is an Hallowed Place; And therefore, not only the Bench, but the Foot-pace, and Precincts, and Purprise thereof, ought to be preserved without Scandall and Corruption. For certainly, *Grapes*, (as the *Scripture* saith) *will not be gathered of Thornes or Thistles:* Neither can *Iustice* yeeld her Fruit

with Sweetnesse, amongst the Briars and Brambles, of Catching and Poling *Clerkes* and *Ministers*. The Attendance of Courts is subiect to Foure bad Instruments. First, Certaine Persons, that are Sowers of Suits; which make the Court swell, and the Country pine. The Second Sort is of those, that ingage Courts, in Quarells of Iurisdiction, and are not truly *Amici Curiæ*, but *Parasiti Curiæ;* in puffing a Court up beyond her Bounds, for their owne Scraps, and Advantage. The Third Sort is of those, that may be accounted, the Left Hands of Courts; Persons that are full of Nimble and Sinister Trickes and Shifts, whereby they pervert the Plaine and Direct Courses of *Courts*, and bring *Iustice* into Oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the Fourth is, the Poler and Exacter of Fees; which iustifies the Common Resemblance of the *Courts* of *Iustice*, to the *Bush*, whereunto while the Sheepe flies for defence in Wether, hee is sure to loose Part of his Fleece. On the other side, an *Ancient Clerke*, skilfull in Presidents, Wary in Proceeding, and Understanding in the *Businesse* of the *Court*, is an excellent Finger of a *Court;* And doth many times point the way to the *Iudge* himselfe.

Fourthly, for that which may concerne the *Soveraigne* and *Estate*. *Iudges* ought above all to remember the Conclusion of the *Roman Twelve Tables; Salus Populi Suprema Lex;* And to know, that Lawes, except they bee in Order to that End, are but Things Captious, and Oracles not well Inspired. Therefore it is an Happie Thing in a *State*, when *Kings* and

States doe often Consult with *Iudges;* And againe, when *Iudges* doe often Consult with the *King* and *State:* The one, when there is Matter of Law, intervenient in Businesse of State; The other, when there is some Consideration of State, intervenient in Matter of Law. For many times, the Things Deduced to *Iudgement*, may bee *Meum* and *Tuum*, when the Reason and Consequence thereof, may Trench to Point of Estate: I call Matter of Estate, not onely the parts of *Soveraigntie*, but whatsoever introduceth any Great Alteration, or Dangerous president; Or Concerneth manifestly any great Portion of People. And let no Man weakly conceive, that Iust Laws, and True Policie, have any *Antipathie:* For they are like the Spirits, and Sinewes, that One moves with the Other. Let *Iudges* also remember, that *Salomons Throne*, was supported by Lions, on both Sides; Let them be Lions, but yet Lions under the Throne; Being circumspect, that they doe not checke, or oppose any Points of *Soveraigntie.* Let not *Iudges* also, be so Ignorant of their owne Right, as to thinke, there is not left to them, as a Principall Part of their Office, a Wise Use, and application of Lawes. For they may remember, what the *Apostle* saith, of a Greater *Law*, then theirs; *Nos scimus quia Lex bona est, modò quis eâ utatur Legitimè.*

LVII

Of Anger

TO seeke to extinguish *Anger* utterly, is but a Bravery of the *Stoickes*. We have better Oracles: *Be Angry, but Sinne not. Let not the Sunne goe downe upon your Anger. Anger* must be limited, and confined, both in Race, and in Time. We will first speake, How the Naturall Inclination, and Habit, *To be Angry*, may be attempred, and calmed. Secondly, How the Particular Motions of *Anger*, may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing Mischiefe. Thirdly, How to raise *Anger*, or appease *Anger*, in Another.

For the first; There is no other Way, but to Meditate and Ruminate well, upon the Effects of *Anger*, how it troubles Mans Life. And the best Time, to doe this, is, to looke backe upon *Anger*, when the Fitt is throughly over. *Seneca* saith well; *That Anger is like Ruine, which breakes it Selfe, upon that it fall's.* The Scripture exhorteth us; *To possesse our Soules in Patience.* Whosoever is out of *Patience*, is out

of Possession of his *Soule*. Men must not turne *Bees;*

——*Animasque in vulnere ponunt.*

Anger is certainly a kinde of Basenesse: As it appeares well, in the Weaknesse of those Subiects, in whom it reignes: Children, Women, Old Folkes, Sicke Folkes. Onely Men must beware, that they carry their *Anger*, rather with Scorne, then with Feare: So that they may seeme rather, to be above the Iniury, then below it: which is a Thing easily done, if a Man will give Law to himselfe in it.

For the Second Point; The *Causes* and *Motives* of *Anger*, are chiefly three. First, to be too *Sensible* of *Hurt:* For no Man is *Angry*, that *Feeles* not himselfe Hurt: And therefore Tender and Delicate Persons, must needs be oft *Angry:* They have so many Things to trouble them; Which more Robust Natures have little Sense of. The next is, the Apprehension and Construction, of the Iniury offred, to be, in the Circumstances thereof, full of *Contempt.* For *Contempt* is that which putteth an Edge upon *Anger*, as much, or more, then the *Hurt* it selfe. And therefore, when Men are Ingenious, in picking out Circumstances of *Contempt*, they doe kindle their *Anger* much. Lastly, Opinion of the Touch of a Mans *Reputation*, doth multiply and sharpen *Anger*. Wherein the Remedy is, that a Man should have, as *Consalvo* was wont to say, *Telam Honoris crassiorem.* But in all Refrainings of *Anger*, it is the best Remedy to win Time; And to make a Mans Selfe beleeve,

that the Opportunity of his Revenge is not yet come: But that he foresees a Time for it; And so to still Himselfe in the meane Time, and reserve it.

To containe *Anger* from *Mischiefe*, though it take hold of a Man, there be two Things, whereof you must have speciall Caution. The one, of extreme *Bitternesse of Words;* Especially, if they be Aculeate, and Proper: For *Communia Maledicta* are nothing so much: And againe, that in *Anger*, a Man reveale no Secrets: For that makes him not fit for Society. The other, that you doe not *peremptorily break off*, in any Businesse, in a *Fitt* of *Anger:* But howsoever you *shew* Bitternes, do not *Act* any thing, that is not Revocable.

For *Raising* and *Appeasing Anger* in Another; It is done chiefly, by *Choosing of Times*, when Men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Againe, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can finde out, to aggravate the *Contempt*. And the two *Remedies* are by the *Contraries*. The Former, to take good Times, when first to relate to a Man, an *Angry* Businesse: For the first Impression is much; And the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the Construction of the Iniury, from the Point of *Contempt:* Imputing it, to Misunderstanding, Feare, Passion, or what you will.

LVIII

Of Vicissitude of Things

SALOMON saith; *There is no New Thing upon the Earth.* So that as *Plato* had an Imagination; *That all Knowledge was but Remembrance:* So *Salomon* giveth his Sentence; *That all Noveltie is but Oblivion.* Whereby you may see, that the River of *Lethe*, runneth as well above Ground, as below. There is an abstruse Astrologer that saith; *If it were not, for two things, that are Constant;* (*The one is, that the Fixed Starres ever stand at like distance, one from another, and never come nearer together, nor goe further asunder; The other, that the Diurnall Motion perpetually keepeth Time:*) *No Individuall would last one Moment.* Certain it is, that the *Matter*, is in a Perpetuall Flux, and never at a Stay. The great Winding-sheets, that burie all Things in Oblivion, are two; *Deluges*, and *Earth-quakes*. As for *Conflagrations*, and great *Droughts*, they doe not meerely dispeople, and destroy. *Phaetons* Carre went but a day. And the *Three yeares Drought*, in the time of *Elias*, was but Particular, and left People Alive. As for the great *Burnings by*

Lightnings, which are often in the *West Indies*, they are but narrow. But in the other two Destructions, by *Deluge*, and *Earth-quake*, it is further to be noted, that the Remnant of People, which hap to be reserved, are commonly Ignorant and Mountanous People, that can give no Account, of the Time past: So that the Oblivion is all one, as if none had beene left. If you consider well, of the People of the *West Indies*, it is very probable, that they are a Newer, or a Younger People, then the People of the Old World. And it is much more likely, that the Destruction, that hath heretofore been there, was not by *Earth-quakes*, (As the *Ægyptian* Priest told *Solon*, concerning the Island of *Atlantis; That it was swallowed by an Earth-quake;*) But rather, that it was desolated, by a Particular *Deluge*. For *Earth-quakes* are seldome in those Parts. But on the other side, they have such *Powring Rivers*, as the *Rivers* of *Asia*, and *Affrick*, and *Europe*, are but Brookes to them. Their *Andes* likewise, or Mountaines, are farre higher, then those with us; Whereby it seemes, that the Remnants of Generation of Men, were, in such a Particular *Deluge*, saved. As for the Observation, that *Macciavel* hath, that the *Iealousie* of *Sects*, doth much extinguish the Memory of Things; Traducing *Gregory* the *Great*, that he did, what in him lay, to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities; I doe not finde, that those Zeales, doe any great Effects, nor last long: As it appeared in the Succession of *Sabinian*, who did revive the former Antiquities.

The *Vicissitude* or *Mutations*, in the *Superiour Globe*, are no fit Matter, for this present Argument. It may be, *Plato's great Yeare*, if the World should last so long, would have some Effect; Not in renewing the State of like Individuals (for that is the Fume of those, that conceive the Celestiall Bodies, have more accurate Influences, upon these Things below, then indeed they have) but in grosse. *Comets*, out of question, have likewise Power and Effect, over the Grosse and Masse of Things: But they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their Iourney, then wisely observed in their Effects; Specially in their Respective Effects; That is, what Kinde of *Comet*, for Magnitude, Colour, Version of the Beames, Placing in the Region of Heaven, or Lasting, produceth what Kinde of Effects.

There is a Toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say, it is observed, in the *Low Countries* (I know not in what Part) that Every Five and Thirtie years, The same Kinde and Sute of Years and Weathers, comes about againe: As Great Frosts, Great Wet, Great Droughts, Warme Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like: And they call it the *Prime*. It is a Thing, I doe the rather mention, because computing backwards, I have found some Concurrence.

But to leave these Points of *Nature*, and to come to *Men*. The greatest *Vicissitude* of Things amongst *Men*, is the *Vicissitude* of *Sects*, and *Religions*. For those Orbs rule in Mens

Minds most. The True *Religion* is *built upon the Rocke;* The Rest are tost upon the Waves of Time. To speake therefore, of the *Causes* of New *Sects;* And to give some *Counsell* concerning them; As farre, as the Weaknesse of Humane Iudgement, can give stay to so great Revolutions.

When the *Religion* formerly received, is rent by Discords; And when the Holinesse of the Professours of *Religion* is decayed, and full of Scandall; And withall the Times be Stupid, Ignorant, and Barbarous; you may doubt the Springing up of a *New Sect;* If then also there should arise, any Extravagant and Strange Spirit, to make himselfe Authour thereof. All which Points held, when *Mahomet* published his *Law.* If a *New Sect* have not two Properties, feare it not: For it will not spread. The one is, the Supplanting, or the opposing, of Authority established: For Nothing is more Popular then that. The other is, the Giving Licence to Pleasures, and a Voluptuous Life. For as for *Speculative Heresies* (such as were in Ancient Times the *Arrians*, and now the *Arminians*) though they worke mightily upon Mens Wits, yet they doe not produce any great Alterations in States; except it be by the Helpe of Civill Occasions. There be three Manner of Plantations of *New Sects.* By the Power of *Signes* and *Miracles:* By the *Eloquence and Wisedome* of *Speech*, and *Perswasion:* And by the *Sword.* For *Martyrdomes*, I reckon them amongst *Miracles;* Because they seeme to exceed, the Strength of Human Nature: And I may doe

the like of *Superlative* and *Admirable Holinesse* of *Life*. Surely, there is no better Way, to stop the Rising of *New Sects*, and *Schismes;* then To reforme Abuses; To compound the smaller Differences; To proceed mildly, and not with Sanguinary Persecutions; And rather to take off the principall Authours, by Winning and Advancing them, then to enrage them by Violence and Bitternesse.

The *Changes* and *Vicissitude* in *Warres* are many: But chiefly in three Things; In the *Seats* or *Stages* of the *Warre;* In the *Weapons;* And in the *Manner* of the *Conduct*. *Warres* in ancient Time, seemed more to move from *East* to *West:* For the *Persians*, *Assyrians*, *Arabians*, *Tartars*, (which were the Invaders) were all Easterne People. It is true, the *Gaules* were Westerne; But we reade but of two Incursions of theirs; The one to *Gallo-Grecia*, the other to *Rome*. But *East* and *West* have no certaine Points of Heaven: And no more have the *Warres*, either from the *East*, or *West*, any Certainty of Observation. But *North* and *South* are fixed: And it hath seldome or never been seene, that the farre Southern People have invaded the Northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest, that the *Northern Tract* of the World, is in Nature the more Martiall Region: Be it, in respect of the Stars of that Hemisphere; Or of the great Continents that are upon the *North*, whereas the *South Part*, for ought that is knowne, is almost all Sea; Or (which is most apparent) of the Cold of the *Northern* Parts, which is that, which without

Aid of Discipline, doth make the Bodies hardest, and the Courages warmest.

Upon the *Breaking* and *Shivering* of a great *State* and *Empire*, you may be sure to have *Warres*. For great Empires, while they stand, doe enervate and destroy the Forces of the Natives, which they have subdued, resting upon their owne Protecting Forces: And then when they faile also, all goes to ruine, and they become a Prey. So was it, in the Decay of the *Roman Empire;* And likewise, in the *Empire* of *Almaigne*, after *Charles* the Great, every Bird taking a Fether; And were not unlike to befall to *Spaine*, if it should break. The great *Accessions* and *Unions* of *Kingdomes*, doe likewise stirre up *Warres*. For when a State growes to an Over-power, it is like a great Floud, that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been seene, in the States of *Rome*, *Turky*, *Spaine*, and others. Looke when the World hath fewest *Barbarous Peoples*, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know meanes to live; (As it is almost every where at this day, except *Tartary*) there is no Danger of Inundations of People: But when there be *great Shoales* of *People*, which goe on to populate, without foreseeing Meanes of Life and Sustentation, it is of Necessity, that once in an Age or two, they discharge a Portion of their People upon other Nations: Which the ancient *Northern People*, were wont to doe by Lot: Casting Lots, what Part should stay at home, and what should seeke their Fortunes. When a *Warre-like State* growes *Soft* and *Effeminate*,

they may be sure of a *Warre*. For commonly such States are growne rich, in the time of their Degenerating; And so the Prey inviteth, and their Decay in Valour encourageth a Warre.

As for the *Weapons*, it hardly falleth under Rule and Observation: yet we see, even they have *Returnes* and *Vicissitudes*. For certain it is, that *Ordnance* was known in the Citty of the *Oxidrakes* in *India;* And was that, which the *Macedonians* called Thunder and Lightning, and Magicke. And it is well knowne, that the use of *Ordnance* hath been in *China*, above 2000. yeares.. The Conditions of *Weapons*, & their Improvement are; First, The Fetching a farre off: For that outruns the Danger: As it is seene in *Ordnance* and *Muskets*. Secondly, the Strength of the Percussion; wherin likewise *Ordnance* doe exceed all Arietations, and ancient Inventions. The third is, the commodious use of them: As that they may serve in all Wethers; That the Carriage may be Light and Manageable; and the like.

For the *Conduct* of the *Warre:* At the first, Men rested extremely upon *Number:* They did put the Warres likewise upon *Maine Force*, and *Valour;* Pointing Dayes for Pitched Fields, and so trying it out, upon an even Match: And they were more ignorant in *Ranging* and *Arraying* their *Battailes*. After they grew to rest upon *Number*, rather Competent, then Vast: They grew to *Advantages*, of *Place*, *Cunning Diversions*, and the like: And they grew more skilful in the *Ordering* of their *Battailes*.

In the *Youth* of a *State*, *Armes* doe flourish:

In the *Middle Age* of a *State*, *Learning;* And then both of them together for a time: In the *Declining Age* of a *State*, *Mechanicall Arts* and *Merchandize*. *Learning* hath his Infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost Childish: Then his Youth, when it is Luxuriant and Iuvenile: Then his Strength of yeares, when it is Solide and Reduced: And lastly, his old Age, when it waxeth Dry and Exhaust. But it is not good, to looke too long, upon these turning Wheeles of *Vicissitude*, lest we become Giddy. As for the *Philology* of them, that is but a Circle of Tales, and therefore not fit for this Writing.

A FRAGMENT, OF AN ESSAY,

Of Fame

THE *Poets* make *Fame* a *Monster*. They describe her, in Part, finely, and elegantly; and, in part, gravely, and sententiously. They say, look how many *Feathers* she hath, so many *Eyes* she hath underneath: So many Tongues; So many Voyces; She pricks up so many Ears.

This is a *flourish:* There follow excellent *Parables;* As that, she gathereth strength in going; That she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the Clouds. That, in the day time, she sitteth in a *Watch Tower*, and flyeth, most, by night: That she mingleth Things done, with things not done: And that she is a Terrour to great *Citties:* But that, which passeth all the rest, is: They do recount, that the *Earth*, *Mother* of the *Gyants*, that made War against *Jupiter*, and were by him destroyed, thereupon, in an anger, brought forth *Fame:* For certain it is, That *Rebels*, figured by the *Gyants*, and *Seditious Fames*, and *Libels*, are but *Brothers*, and *Sisters; Masculine*, and *Feminine*. But now, if a Man can tame this *Monster*, and bring her to feed at

the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening Fowle, and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected, with the stile of the *Poets*. To speak now, in a sad, and serious manner: There is not, in all the Politiques, a *Place*, lesse handled, and more worthy to be handled, then this of *Fame*. We will, therefore, speak of these *points*. What are false *Fames;* And what are true *Fames;* And how they may be best discerned; How *Fames*, may be sown, and raised; How they may be spread, and multiplyed; And how they may be checked, and layed dead. And other Things, concerning the *Nature* of *Fame*. *Fame*, is of that force, as there is, scarcely, any great Action wherein, it hath not, a great part; Especially, in the *War*. *Mucianus* undid *Vitellius* by a *Fame*, that he scattered; That *Vitellius* had in purpose, to remove the *Legions* of *Syria*, into *Germany;* And the Legions of *Germany*, into *Syria:* whereupon the *Legions* of *Syria* were infinitely inflamed. *Julius Cæsar*, took *Pompey* unprovided, and layed asleep his industry, and preparations, by a *Fame* that he cunningly gave out; How *Cæsars* own Souldiers loved him not; And being wearied with the Wars, and Laden with the spoyles of Gaul, would forsake him, as soon as he came into *Italy*. *Livia*, setled all things, for the Succession, of her Son *Tiberius*, by continuall giving out, that her husband *Augustus*, was upon Recovery, and amendment. And it is an usuall thing, with the *Basshawes*, to conceale the Death of the Great *Turk* from the *Jannizaries*, and men of War, to save the Sack-

ing of *Constantinople*, and other *Towns*, as their Manner is. *Themistocles*, made *Zerxes*, king of *Persia* poast apace out of *Græcia*, by giving out, that the *Græcians*, had a purpose, to break his *Bridge*, of Ships, which he had made athwart *Hellespont*. There be a thousand such like *Examples*; And the more they are, the lesse they need to be repeated; Because a Man, meeteth with them, every where: Therefore, let all Wise *Governers*, have as great a watch, and care, over *Fames*, as they have, of the *Actions*, and Designes themselves.

The rest was not Finished.

OF THE

COULERS

OF

GOOD AND EVILL

A FRAGMENT.

1597.

1. *Cui cæteræ partes vel sectæ secundas unanimiter deferunt, cum singulæ principatum sibi vindicent melior reliquis videtur. Nam primas quæque ex zelo videtur sumere; secundas autem ex vero tribuere.*

2. *Cuius excellentia vel exuperantia melior id toto genere melius.*

3. *Quod ad veritatem refertur maius est quàm quod ad opinionem. Modus autem, & probatio eius quod ad opinionem pertinet hæc est. Quod quis si clam putaret fore facturus non esset.*

4. *Quod rem integram servat bonum quod sine receptu est malum. Nam se recipere non posse impotentiæ genus est, potentia autem bonum.*

5. *Quod ex pluribus constat, & divisibilius est maius quàm quod ex paucioribus & magis unum: nam omnia per partes considerata maiora videntur; quare & pluralitas partium magnitudinem præ se fert, fortiùs autem operatur pluralitas partium si ordo absit, nam inducit similitudinem infiniti, & impedit comprehensionem.*

6. *Cuius privatio bona, malum, cuius privatio mala bonum.*

7. *Quod bono vicinum, bonum, quod a bono remotum malum.*

8. *Quod quis culpa sua contraxit, maius malum, quod ab externis imponitur minus malum.*

9. *Quod opera, & virtute nostra partum est, maius bonum, quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia fortunæ delatum est, minus bonum.*

10. *Gradus privationis maior videtur quàm gradus diminutionis, & rursus gradus inceptionis maior videtur quàm gradus incrementi.*

IN deliberatives the point is what is good and what is evill, and of good what is greater, and of evill what is the lesse.

So that the perswaders labor is to make things appeare good or evill, and that in higher or lower degree, which as it may be perfourmed by true and solide reasons, so it may be represented also by coulers, popularities and circumstances, which are of such force, as they sway the ordinarie iudgement either of a weake man, or of a wise man, not fully and considerately attending and pondering the matter. Besides their power to alter the nature of the subiect in appearance, and so to leade to error, they are of no lesse use to quicken and strengthen the opinions and perswasions which are true: for reasons plainely delivered, and alwaies after one manner especially with fine and fastidious mindes, enter but heavily and dully; whereas if they be varyed and have more life and vigor put into them by these

fourmes and insinuations, they cause a stronger apprehension, and many times suddainely win the minde to a resolution. Lastly, to make a true and safe iudgement, nothing can be of greater use and defence to the minde, then the discovering and reprehension of these coulers, shewing in what cases they hold, and in what they deceive: which as it cannot be done, but out of a very universall knowledge of the nature of things, so being perfourmed, it so cleareth mans iudgement and election, as it is the lesse apt to slide into any error.

A TABLE of Coulers, or apparances of good and evill, and their degrees as places of perswasion and disswasion; and their severall fallaxes, and the elenches of them.

1. *Cui ceteræ partes vel sectæ secundas unanimiter deferunt, cum singulæ principatum sibi vendicent melior reliquis videtur, nam primas quæque ex zelo videtur sumere, secundas autem ex vero & merito tribuere.*

SO *Cicero* went about to prove the Secte of *Academiques* which suspended all asseveration, for to be the best, for sayth he, aske a *Stoicke* which Philosophie is true, he will preferre his owne: Then aske him which approcheth next the truth, he will confesse the *Academiques.* So deale with the *Epicure* that will scant indure the *Stoicke* to be in sight of him, as soone as he hath placed himselfe, he will place the *Academiques* next him.

So if a Prince tooke divers competitors to a place, and examined them severallie whome next

themselves they would rathest commend, it were like the ablest man should have the most second votes.

The fallax of this couler hapneth oft in respect of envy, for men are accustomed after themselves and their owne faction to incline to them which are softest, and are least in their way in despite and derogation of them that hold them hardest to it. So that this couler of melioritie and preheminence is oft a signe of enervation and weakenesse.

2. *Cuius excellentia vel exuperantia melior, id toto genere melius.*

APPERTAINING to this are the fourmes; *Let us not wander in generalities: Let us compare particular with particular*, &c. This appearance though it seeme of strength and rather Logicall then Rhetoricall, yet is very oft a fallax.

Sometimes because some things are in kinde very casuall, which if they escape, prove excellent, so that the kinde is inferior, because it is so subiect to perill, but that which is excellent being proved is superior, as the blossome of March and the blossome of May, whereof the French verse goeth:

Bourgeon de Mars enfant de Paris,
Si un eschape, il en vaut dix:

So that the blossome of May is generally better then the blossome of March; and yet the best blossome of March is better then the best blossome of May.

Sometimes, because the nature of some kindes is to be more equall and more indifferent, and not to have very distant degrees, as hath bene noted in the warmer clymates, the people are generally more wise, but in the Northerne climate the wits of chiefe are greater. So in many Armies, if the matter should be tryed by duell betweene two Champions, the victory should go on one side, and yet if it be tryed by the grosse, it would go of the other side; for excellencies go as it were by chance, but kindes go by a more certaine nature, as by discipline in warre.

Lastly, many kindes have much refuse which countervale that which they have excellent; and therefore generally mettall is more precious then stone, and yet a dyamond is more precious then gould.

3. *Quod ad veritatem refertur maius est quam quod ad opinionem. Modus autem & probatio eius quod ad opinionem pertinet, hæc est, quod quis si clam putaret fore, facturus non esset.*

SO the Epicures say of the Stoicks felicitie placed in vertue, That it is like the felicitie of a Player, who if he were left of his Auditorie and their applause, he would streight be out of hart and countenance, and therefore they call vertue *Bonum theatrale.* But of Riches the Poet sayth:

Populus me sibilat, At mihi plaudo.

And of pleasure.

Grata sub imo
Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulante pudorem.

The fallax of this couler is somewhat subtile, though the aunswere to the example be readie, foı vertue is not chosen *propter auram popularem.* But contrariwise, *Maxime omnium teipsum reverere,* So as a vertuous man will be vertuous in *solitudine,* and not onely in *theatro,* though percase it will be more strong by glory and fame, as an heate which is doubled by reflexion; But that denieth the supposition, it doth not reprehend the fallax whereof the reprehension is, alow that vertue (such as is ioyned with labor and conflict) would not be chosen but for fame and opinion, yet it followeth not that the chiefe motive of the election should not be reall and for it selfe, for fame may be onely *causa impulsiva,* and not *causa constituens,* or *efficiens.* As if there were two horses, and the one would doo better without the spurre then the other: but agayne, the other with the spurre woulde farre exceede the doing of the former, giving him the spurre also; yet the latter will be iudged to be the better horse, and the fourme as to say, *Tush, the life of this horse is but in the spurre,* will not serve as to a wise iudgemente: For since the ordinary instrument of horsemanship is the spurre, and that it is no manner of impediment nor burden, the horse is not to bee accounted the lesse of, which will not do well without the spurre, but rather the other is to be reckoned a delicacie then a vertue, so glory and honor are as spurres to vertue: and although vertue would languish without them, yet since they be alwayes at hand to attend vertue, vertue is not to be sayd the lesse, chosen for it selfe, because it needeth the spurre

of fame and reputation: and therefore that position, *Nota eius rei quod propter opinionem & non propter veritatem eligitur, hæc est quod quis si clam putaret fore facturus non esset* is reprehended.

4. *Quod rem integram servat bonum, quod sine receptu est malum. Nam se recipere non posse impotentiæ genus est, potentia autem bonum.*

HEREOF *Aesope* framed the Fable of the two Frogs that consulted together in time of drowth (when many plashes that they had repayred to were dry) what was to be done, and the one propounded to goe downe into a deepe Well, because it was like the water woulde not fayle there, but the other aunswered, yea but if it do faile how shall we get up againe? And the reason is, that humane actions are so uncertayne and subiecte to perills, as that seemeth the best course which hath most passages out of it.

Appertaining to this perswasion the fourmes are, *you shall ingage your selfe.* On the other side, *Tantum quantum voles sumes ex fortuna,* you shall keepe the matter in your owne hands. The reprehension of it is, *That proceeding and resolving in all actions is necessarie:* for as he sayth well, *Not to resolve, is to resolve,* and many times it breedes as many necessities, and ingageth as farre in some other sort as to resolve.

So it is but the covetous mans disease translated into power, for the covetous man will enioy nothing because he will have his full store and possibilitie to enioy the more, so by this reason a man shoulde execute nothing because hee should be still indifferent and at libertie to execute any thing. Besides necessitie and this same *iacta est alea* hath many times an advantage, because it awaketh the powers of the minde, and strengtheneth indevor. *Cæteris pares necessitate certe superiores estis.*

5. *Quod ex pluribus constat et divisibilius est maius quam quod ex paucioribus et magis unum: nam omnia per partes considerata maiora videntur; quare et pluralitas partium magnitudinem præ se fert; fortius autem operatur pluralitas partium si ordo absit, nam inducit similitudinem infiniti et impedit comprehensionem.*

THIS couler seemeth palpable, for it is not pluralitie of partes without maioritie of partes that maketh the totall greater, yet neverthelesse it often carries the minde away, yea, it deceyveth the sence, as it seemeth to the eye a shorter distance of way if it be all dead and continued, then if it have trees or buildings or any other markes whereby the eye may devide it. So when a great moneyed man hath devided his chests and coines and bags, hee seemeth to himselfe richer then hee was, and therefore a way to amplifie any thing, is to breake it, and to make an anatomie of it in severall partes, and to examine it according to severall circumstances,

And this maketh the greater shew if it be done without order, for confusion maketh things muster more, and besides what is set downe by order and division, doth demonstrate that nothing is left out or omitted, but all is there; whereas if it be without order, both the minde comprehendeth lesse that which is set downe, and besides it leaveth a suspition, as if more might be sayde then is expressed.

This couler deceyveth, if the minde of him that is to be perswaded, do of it selfe over-conceive or preiudge of the greatnesse of any thing, for then the breaking of it will make it seeme lesse, because it maketh it appeare more according to the truth, and therefore if a man be in sicknes or payne, the time will seeme longer without a clocke or howre-glasse then with it, for the minde doth value every moment, and then the howre doth rather summe up the moments then devide the day. So in a dead playne, the way seemeth the longer, because the eye hath preconceyved it shorter then the truth: and the frustrating of that maketh it seeme longer then the truth. Therefore if any man have an overgreat opinion of any thing, then if an other thinke by breaking it into severall considerations, he shall make it seeme greater to him, he will be deceyved, and therefore in such cases it is not safe to devide, but to extoll the entire still in generall.

An other case wherein this couler deceyveth, is, when the matter broken or devided is not comprehended by the sence or minde at once in respect of the distracting or scattering of it, and

being intire and not devided, is comprehended, as a hundred pounds in heapes of five poundes will shewe more, then in one grosse heape, so as the heapes be all uppon one table to be seene at once, otherwise not, or flowers growing scattered in divers beds will shewe, more then if they did grow in one bed, so as all those beds be within a plot that they be obiect to view at once, otherwise not; and therefore men whose living lieth together in one Shire, are commonly counted greater landed then those whose livings are dispersed though it be more, because of the notice and comprehension.

A third case wherein this couler deceyveth, and it is not so properly a case or reprehension as it is a counter couler being in effect as large as the couler it selfe, and that is, *Omnis compositio indigentiæ cuiusdam videtur esse particeps*, because if one thing would serve the turne it were ever best, but the defect and imperfections of things hath brought in that help to piece them up as it is sayd, *Martha Martha attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit.* So likewise hereupon *Aesope* framed the Fable of the Fox and the Cat, whereas the Fox bragged what a number of shifts and devises he had to get from the houndes, and the Catte saide she had but one, which was to clime a tree, which in proofe was better worth then all the rest, whereof the proverbe grew,

Multa novit Vulpes sed Felis unum magnum.

And in the morall of this fable it comes likewise to passe: That a good sure friend is a better

helpe at a pinch, then all the stratagems and pollicies of a mans owne wit. So it falleth out to bee a common errour in negociating, whereas men have many reasons to induce or perswade, they strive commonly to utter and use them all at once, which weakeneth them. For it argueth as was said, a needines in every of the reasons by it selfe, as if one did not trust to any of them, but fled from one to another, helping himselfe onely with that.

Et quæ non prosunt singula, multa iuvant.

Indeed in a set speech in an assemblie it is expected a man shoulde use all his reasons in the case hee handleth, but in private perswasions it is alwayes a great errour.

A fourth case wherein this colour may bee reprehended is in respecte of that same *vis unita fortior*, according to the tale of the French King, that when the Emperours Amb. had recited his maysters stile at large which consisteth of many countries and dominions: the French King willed his Chauncellor or other minister to repeate and say over Fraunce as many times as the other had recited the severall dominions, intending it was equivalent with them all, & beside more compacted and united.

There is also appertayning to this couler an other point, why breaking of a thing doth helpe it, not by way of adding a shew of magnitude unto it, but a note of excellency and raritie; whereof the fourmes are, *Where shall you finde such a concurrence? Great but not compleat*, for it seemes a lesse worke of nature or fortune to

make any thing in his kinde greater then ordinarie, then to make a straunge composition.

Yet if it bee narrowly considered, this colour will bee reprehended or incountred by imputing to all excellencies in compositions a kind of povertie or at least a casualty or ieopardy, for from that which is excellent in greatnes somwhat may be taken, or there may be decay; and yet sufficiencie left, but from that which hath his price in composition if you take away any thing, or any part doe fayle all is disgraced.

6. *Cuius privatio bona, malum, cuius privatio mala, bonum.*

THE formes to make it conceyved that that was evill which is chaunged for the better are, *He that is in hell thinkes there is no other heaven. Satis quercus, Acornes were good till bread was found, &c.* And of the other side the formes to make it conceyved that that was good which was chaunged for the worse are, *Bona magis carendo quàm fruendo sentimus, Bona à tergo formosissima, Good things never appear in their full beautie, till they turne their backe and be going away, &c.* The reprehension of this colour is, that the good or evil which is removed may be esteemed good or evil comparatively and not positively or simply. So that if the privation bee good, it follows not the former condition was evil, but lesse good, for the flower or blossome is a positive good, although the remove of it to give place to the fruite be a comparative good. So in the tale of Æsope;

when the olde fainting man in the heat of the day cast downe his burthen & called for death, & when death came to know his will with him, said it was for nothing but to helpe him uppe with his burthen agayne: it doth not follow that because death which was the privation of the burthen was ill, therefore the burthen was good. And in this parte the ordinarie forme of *Malum necessarium* aptly reprehendeth this colour, for *Privatio mali necessarij est mala*, and yet that doth not convert the nature of the necessarie evil, but it is evill.

Againe it commeth sometimes to passe, that there is an equalitie in the chaunge or privation, and as it were a *Dilemma boni* or a *Dilemma mali*, so that the corruption of the one good is a generation of the other,

Sorti pater æquus utrique est:

And contrarie the remedy of the one evill is the occasion and commencement of an other, as in *Scilla* and *Charibdis*.

7. *Quod bono vicinum, bonum: quod a bono remotum malum.*

SUCH is the nature of thinges, that thinges contrarie and distant in nature and qualitie are also severed and disioyned in place, and thinges like and consenting in qualitie are placed, and as it were quartered together, for partly in regarde of the nature to spredde, multiplie and infect in similitude, and partly in regard of the nature to break, expell and alter that which

is disagreeable and contrarie, most thinges do eyther associate and draw neere to themselves the like, or at least assimilate to themselves that which approcheth neer them, and doe also drive away, chase and exterminate their contraries, And that is the reason commonly yeelded why the middle region of the aire shold be coldest, because the Sunne and stars are eyther hot by direct beames or by reflection. The direct beames heate the upper region, the reflected beames from the earth and seas heate the lower Region. That which is in the middest being furthest distant in place from these two Regions of heate are most distant in nature that is coldest, which is that they tearme colde or hot, *per antiperistasin*, that is invironing by contraries, which was pleasantly taken holde of by him that said that an honest man in these daies must needes be more honest then in ages heretofore, *propter antiperistasin* because the shutting of him in the middest of contraries must needs make the honesty stronger and more compact in it selfe.

The reprehension of this colour is, first many things of amplitude in their kind doe as it were ingrosse to themselves all, and leave that which is next them most destitute, as the shootes or underwood that grow neare a great and spread tree, is the most pyned & shrubbie wood of the field, because the great tree doth deprive and deceive them of sappe and nourishment. So he saith wel, *Divitis servi maximè servi:* And the comparison was pleasant of him that compared courtiers attendant in the courtes of

princes, without great place or office, to fasting dayes, which were next the holy daies, but otherwise were the leanest dayes in all the weeke.

An other reprehension is, that things of greatnes and predominancie, though they doe not extenuate the thinges adioyning in substance; yet they drowne them and obscure them in shew and appearance. And therefore the Astronomers say, that whereas in all other planets coniunction is the perfectest amitie: the Sunne contrariwise is good by aspect, but evill by coniunction.

A third reprehension is because evill approcheth to good sometimes for concealement, sometimes for protection, and good to evill for conversion and reformation. So hipocrisie draweth neer to religion for covert & hyding it selfe:

Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni,

& Sanctuary men, which were commonly inordinate men & malefactors, were wont to be neerest to priestes and Prelates and holy men, for the maiestie of good thinges is such, as the confines of them are revered. On the other side our Saviour charged with neerenes of Publicanes and rioters said, *The Phisitian approcheth the sicke, rather then the whole.*

8. *Quod quis culpa sua contraxit, maius malum; quod ab externis imponitur, minus malum.*

THE reason is because the sting and remorse of the mind accusing it selfe doubleth all adversitie, contrarywise the considering and recording inwardly that a man is cleare and free

from fault, and iust imputation, doth attemper outward calamities: For if the evill bee in the sence and in the conscience both, there is a gemination of it, but if evill be in the one and comfort in the other, it is a kind of compensation. So the Poets in tragedies doe make the most passionate lamentations, and those that fore-runne final dispaire, to be accusing, questioning and torturing of a mans selfe.

Seque unum clamat causamque caputque malorum.

& contrariwise the extremities of worthie persons have beene annihilated in the consideration of their owne good deserving. Besides when the evill commeth from without, there is left a kinde of evaporation of griefe, if it come by humane iniurie, eyther by indignation and meditating of revenge from our selves, or by expecting or foreconceyving that *Nemesis* and retribution will take holde of the authours of our hurt, or if it bee by fortune or accident, yet there is left a kinde of expostulation against the divine powers.

Atque deos atque Astra vocat crudelia Mater.

But where the evill is derived from a mans own fault there all strikes deadly inwardes and suffocateth.

The reprehension of this colour is first in respect of hope, for reformation of our faultes is in *nestra potestate*, but amendment of our fortune simplie is not. Therefore *Demosthenes* in many of his orations sayth thus to the people of *Athens*. *That which having regarde to the*

time past is the worst pointe and circumstance of all the rest, that as to the time to come is the best: What is that? Even this, that by your sloth, irresolution, and misgovernement, your affaires are growne to this declination and decay. For had you used and ordered your meanes and forces to the best, and done your partes every way to the full, and notwithstanding your matters should have gone backwards in this manner as they doe, there had beene no hope left of recoverie or reparation, but since it hath beene onely by your owne errours &c. So *Epictetus* in his degrees saith, *The worst state of man is to accuse externe things, better then that to accuse a mans selfe, and best of all to accuse neyther.*

An other reprehension of this colour is in respect of the wel bearing of evils, wherewith a man can charge no bodie but himselfe, which maketh them the lesse.

Leve fit quod bene fertur onus.

And therefore many natures, that are eyther extreamely proude and will take no fault to themselves, or els very true, and cleaving to themselves (when they see the blame of any thing that falles out ill must light upon themselves) have no other shift but to beare it out wel, and to make the least of it, for as wee see when sometimes a fault is committed, & before it be known who is to blame, much adoe is made of it, but after if it appeare to be done by a sonne, or by a wife, or by a neere friend, then it is light made of. So much more when a man

must take it upon himselfe. And therefore it is commonly seene that women that marrie husbandes of their owne choosing against their friends consents, if they be never so ill used, yet you shall seldome see them complaine but to set a good face on it.

9. *Quod opera & virtute nostra partum est maius bonum; quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia fortunæ delatum est minus bonum.*

THE reasons are first the future hope, because in the favours of others or the good windes of fortune we have no state or certainty, in our endevours or abilities we have. So as when they have purchased us one good fortune, we have them as ready and better edged and inured to procure another.

The formes be, *you have wonne this by play, you have not onely the water, but you have the receit, you can make it againe if it be lost &c.*

Next because these properties which we inioy by the benefite of others carry with them an obligation, which seemeth a kinde of burthen, whereas the other which derive from our selves, are like the freest patents *absque aliquo inde reddendo*, and if they proceede from fortune or providence, yet they seeme to touch us secreatly with the reverence of the divine powers whose favours we tast, and therfore worke a kind of religious feare and restraint, whereas in the other kind, that come to passe which the Prophet speaketh, *Lætantur & exultant, immolant plagis suis, & sacrificant reti suo.*

Thirdely because that which commeth unto us without our owne virtue, yeeldeth not that commendation and reputation, for actions of great felicitie may drawe wonder, but prayselesse, as *Cicero* said to *Cesar: Quæ miremur habemus, quæ laudemus expectamus.*

Fourthly because the purchases of our own industrie are ioyned commonly with labour and strife which gives an edge and appetite, and makes the fruition of our desire more pleasant, *Suavis cibus a venatu.*

On the other side there bee fowre counter colours to this colour rather then reprehensions, because they be as large as the colour it selfe, first because felicitie seemeth to bee a character of the favour and love of the divine powers, and accordingly worketh both confidence in our selves and respecte and authoritie from others. And this felicitie extendeth to many casuall thinges, whereunto the care or virtue of man cannot extend, and therefore seemeth to be a larger good, as when *Cæsar* sayd to the sayler, *Cæsarem portas & fortunam eius*, if he had saide, *& virtutem eius*, it had beene small comfort against a tempest otherwise then if it might seeme upon merite to induce fortune.

Next, whatsoever is done by vertue and industrie, seemes to be done by a kinde of habite and arte, and therefore open to be imitated and followed, whereas felicitie is inimitable: So wee generally see, that things of nature seeme more excellent then things of arte, because they be inimitable, for *quod imitabile est potentia quadam vulgatum est.*

Thirdly, felicitie commendeth those things which commeth without our owne labor, for they seeme gifts, and the other seemes peny-worths: whereupon *Plutarch* sayth elegantly of the actes of *Timoleon*, who was so fortunate, compared with the actes of *Agesilaus* and *Epaminondas*, *That they were like Homers verses they ranne so easily and so well*, and therefore it is the word we give unto poesie, terming it a happie vaine, because facilitie seemeth ever to come from happines.

Fourthly, this same *præter spem*, *vel præter expectatum*, doth increase the price and pleasure of many things, and this cannot be incident to those things that proceede from our owne care, and compasse.

10. *Gradus privationis maior videtur quàm gradus diminutionis; & rursus gradus inceptionis maior videtur quàm gradus incrementi.*

IT is a position in the Mathematiques that there is no proportion betweene somewhat and nothing, therefore the degree of nullitie and quidditie or act, seemeth larger then the degrees of increase and decrease, as to a monoculos it is more to loose one eye, then to a man that hath two eyes. So if one have lost divers children, it is more griefe to him to loose the last then all the rest, because he is *spes gregis*. And therefore *Sybilla* when she brought her three books, and had burned two, did double the whole price of both the other, because the

burning of that had bin *gradus privationis*, and not *diminutionis*. This couler is reprehended first in those things, the use and service whereof resteth in sufficiencie, competencie, or determinate quantitie, as if a man be to pay one hundreth poundes upon a penaltie, it is more for him to want xii pence, then after that xii pence supposed to be wanting, to want ten shillings more: So the decay of a mans estate seemes to be most touched in the degree when he first growes behinde, more then afterwards when he proves nothing worth. And hereof the common fourmes are, *Sera in fundo parsimonia*, and as good never a whit, as never the better, &c. It is reprehended also in respect of that notion, *Corruptio unius, generatio alterius*, so that *gradus privationis*, is many times lesse matter, because it gives the cause, and motive to some new course. As when *Demosthenes* reprehended the people for harkning to the conditions offered by King Phillip, being not honorable nor equall, he saith they were but aliments of their sloth and weakenes, which if they were taken away, necessitie woulde teach them stronger resolutions. So Doctor *Hector* was wont to say to [the] Dames of London, when they complayned they were they could not tell how, but yet they could not endure to take any medicine, he would tell them, Their way was onely to be sicke, for then they would be glad to take any medicine.

Thirdly, this couler may be reprehended, in respect that the degree of decrease is more sensitive, then the degree of privation; for in the minde of man, *gradus diminutionis* may

worke a wavering betweene hope and feare, and so keepe the minde in suspence from setling and accommodating in patience, and resolution; hereof the common fourmes are, *Better eye out, then alwayes ake*, make or marre, &c.

For the second braunch of this couler, it depends upon the same generall reason: hence grew the common place of extolling the beginning of every thing,

Dimidium facti qui bene cœpit hàbet.

This made the Astrologers so idle as to iudge of a mans nature and destiny by the constellation of the moment of his nativitie, or conception. This couler is reprehended, because many inceptions are but as *Epicurus* termeth them, *tentamenta*, that is, imperfect offers, and essayes, which vanish and come to no substance without an iteration, so as in such cases the second degree seemes the worthyest, as the body-horse in the Cart, that draweth more then the fore-horse, hereof the common fourmes are, *The second blow makes the fray*, *The second word makes the bargaine*, *Alter principium dedit, alter* [*modum*] *abstulit, &c.* Another reprehension of this couler is in respect of defatigation, which makes perseverance of greater dignitie then inception, [for chaunce or instinct of nature may cause inception,] but setled affection or iudgement maketh the continuance.

Thirdly, this couler is reprehended in such things which have a naturall course, and inclination contrary to an inception. So that the

inception is continually evacuated and gets no start, but there behoveth *perpetua inceptio*, as in the common fourme. *Non progredi, est regredi, Qui non proficit, deficit:* Running against the hill: Rowing against the streame, &c. For if it be with the streame or with the hill, then the degree of inception is more then all the rest.

Fourthly, this couler is to be understoode of *gradus inceptionis à potentia, ad actum comparatus; cum gradu ab actu ad incrementum:* For other[wise], *maior videtur gradus ab impotentia ad potentiam, quàm a potentia ad actum.*

FINIS.

Printed at London by Iohn Windet
for Humfrey Hooper.
1597.

APPENDIX

ESSAIES

OF STUDIES

CAP: I

STUDIES serue for pastimes, for ornaments, for abilities: their cheife vse for pastimes is in privatenes, and retiring: for ornaments, in discourse; and for ability in Iudgement: for expert men can execute, but learned are men more fit to Iudge, and censure: to spende to much time in them is sloth: to vse them to much for ornament is affectation: to make Iudgement wholely by their rules is the humor of a scholler: they perfect nature, and are themselues perfected by experience: crafty men contemne them, wise men vse them, simple men admire them. for they teache not their owne vse, but that there is a wisdome wthout them, and aboue them wonne by observation: Reade not to contradict, nor to beleeue, but to weigh, and consider. Some

bookes are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some fewe to be chewed, and disgested: that is: some are to be reade onely in partes, others to be reade but curiously, and some fewe to be reade wholely w^th^ diligence, and attention. Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready, and writing an exact man: therefore if a man write litle he had neede of a greate memory; if he confer litle, he had neede of a present wit, and if he reade litle, he had neede haue much cunning to seeme to knowe that he doth not knowe: Histories make men wise; Poets witty: the Mathematiques subtile; Naturall Philosophie deepe: Morall graue: Logique, and Rethorique able to contende.

OF DISCOURSE

Cap: 2

SOME in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to holde all arguments, then of Iudgement in discerning what is true: as if it were a praise to knowe what might be saide, and not what should be thought: some haue certaine common places, and theames, wherein they are good, and want variety: wch kinde of Poverty is for the most parte tedious, and now, and then ridiculous: the honorablest parte of talke is to giue the occasion, and againe to moderate, and passe to somewhat else: It is good to vary, and mixe speache of the present occasion wth arguments; tales wth reasons: asking of questions wth telling of opinions: and Iest wth earnest: but some thinges are priviledged from Iest, namely, Religion, matters of state, greate persons, all mens present busines of Importaunce, and any case that deserveth pitty: He that questioneth much, shall learne much, and content much, especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the party of whom he asketh: for he shall giue them occa-

sion to please themselues in speaking, and himselfe shall continually gather knowledge: if sometimes you dissemble your knowledge of that you are thought to knowe, you shallbe thought another time to knowe, that wch you knowe not: speache of a mans selfe is not good often; and there is but one thing wherein a man may commend himselfe wth good grace, and that is commending vertue in another: especially if it be such a vertue as wherevnto himselfe pretendeth: Discretion of speache is more then eloquence, and to speake agreeably to him wth whome we deale, is more then to speake in good wordes, or in good order: a good continued speache, wthout a good speache of Interloquution showeth slownes; and a good second speache wthout a good set speache showeth shallownes. to vse to many circumstaunces ere one come to the matter is wearisome, and to vse none at all is blunt.

OF CERIMONIES, AND RESPECTES

CAP: 3

HE that is onely reall, needeth exceeding greate partes of vertue, as the stone had neede to bee exceeding riche that is set wthout foyle: but commonly it is in praise, as it is in gaine: for as the proverbe is true, that light gaines make heavie purses, because they come thicke: whereas the greate come but now, and then: so it is as true that small matters win greate commendation, because they are continually in vse, and in noate, whereas the occasion of any greate vertue commeth but on hollidaies: to attaine good formes it sufficeth not to despise them, for so shall a man obserue them in others, and let him trust himselfe wth the rest: for if he care to expresse them he shall loose their grace, wch is to be naturall, and vnaffected: some mens behaviour is like a verse, wherein every sillable is measured: how can a man obserue greate matters, that breaketh his minde to much in small observations? not to vse ceremonies at all, is to teache others not to vse them againe, and so diminish his respect: especially

they are not to be omitted to straungers, and straunge natures: among a mans equalls a man shallbe sure of familiarity, and therefore it is good a litle to keepe state: among a mans inferiours a man shallbe sure of reverence, and therefore it is good a litle to be familiar: he that is to much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety maketh himselfe cheape: to apply ones selfe to others is good, so it be wth demonstration that a man doth it vpon regarde, and not vpon facility: it is a good precept generally in seconding another, yet to adde somewhat of his owne: if you graunt his opinion let it be wth some distinction: if you will followe his motion let it be wth condition: if you allowe his counsaile, let it be wth alledging farther reason.

OF FOLLOWERS, AND FREINDES

CAP : 4

COSTLY followers are not to be liked, least while a man maketh his traine longer, he maketh his winges shorter: I reckon to be costly not them alone wch charge the purse, but wch are wearisome, and importunate in suites: ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions, then countenaunce, recommendation, and protection from wrong: factious followers are worse to be liked wch followe not vpon affection to him wth whome they raunge themselues, but vpon some discontentment received against some others, wherevpon commonly insueth that ill intelligence, that many times we see betweene greate personages: the following of certaine states awnswerable to that wch a greate personage himselfe professeth: as of souldiers to him that hath bin imploied in the warres, and the like hath ever bin a thing civill, and well taken euen in Monarchies, so it be wthout too much pompe, or popularity: but the most honorable kinde of following is to be followed, as one that intendeth to advaunce vertue, and

desert in all sortes of persons: and yet where there is no imminent ods in sufficiency, it is better to take wth the more passable, then wth the more able: in government of charge it is good to vse men of one ranke equally: for to countenaunce some extraordinarily is to make them insolent and the rest discontent, because they may claime a due: but in favours to vse men wth much difference, and election is good, for it maketh the persons preferred more thankfull, and the rest affectious, because all is of favour: it is good not to make to much of any man at first, because one cannot holde out that proportion. to be governed by one is not good, and to be distracted by many is worse: but to take advise of freindes is ever honorable: for lookers on many times see more then gamsters, and the vale best discovereth the hill. there is litle freindeship in the worlde, and least of all betweene equalls, that w^{ch} is, is betweene superiour, and inferiour, whose fortunes may comprehende the one the other.

OF SUITERS

CAP: 5

MANY ill matters are vndertaken, and many good matters wth ill mindes: some embrace suites wch never meane to deale effectually in them, but if they see, there may be life in the matter by some other meane, they will be content to win a thanke, or take a second rewarde: some take holde of suites onely for an occasion to crosse some others, or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise haue apt pretext, wthout care of what become of the suite, when that turne is served: nay some vndertake suites wth a full purpose to let them fall to the ende to gratify the adverse party, or competitor. surely there is in sorte a right in every sute, either a right of equity, if it be a sute of controversy, or a right of desert, if it be a sute of petition: if affection leade a man to favour the wrong side, in Iustice rather let him vse his countenaunce to compound the matter then to carry it: if affection leade a man to favour the lesse worthy in desert, let him doe wthout depraving, or disabling the better

deserver: in suites w^ch^ a man doth not vnderstande, it is good to refer them to some freinde of his, of trust, and Iudgement, that may report whither he may deale in them w^th^ honour: Suters are so distasted w^th^ delaies, and abuses, that plaine dealing in denying to deale in suites at first, and reporting the successe barely, and in challenging no more thankes then one hath deserved is growne not onely honorable, but also gratious. in sutes of favour the first comming ought to take but litle place, so farfoorth consideration may be had of his trust, that if Intelligence of the matter could not otherwise haue beene had but by him, advauntage be not taken of the note: to be ignoraunt of the value of a suite, is simplicitie, aswell as to be ignoraunt of the right thereof is want of conscience: secrecy in suites is a greate meane of obtaining: for voycing them to be in forwardnes, may discourage some kinde of suiters, but doth quicken, and awake others: but timing of suites is the principall: timing, I say, not onely in respect of the person that should graunt it, but in respect of those, w^ch^ are like to crosse it: nothing is thought so easie a request to a greate man as his lre, and yet not in an ill cause, it is so much out of his reputation.

OF EXPENCE

CAP: 6

RICHES are for spending, and spending for honour, and good actions: therefore extraordinary expence must be limited by the worth of the occasion: for voluntary vndoing may be aswell for a mans countrey, as for the kingdome of heauen: but ordinary expence ought to be limited by a mans estate, and governed wth such regarde as it be wthin his compasse, and not subject to deceite, and abuse of servauntes, and ordered by the best showe, that the billes may be lesse then the estimation abroade: it is no basenes for the greatest to discende, and looke into their owne estate: some forbeare it not of negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselues into melancholy, in respect they shall finde it broken: but woundes cannot be cured wthout searching: he that cannot looke into his owne estate, had neede both choose well those whome he imployeth, and chaunge them often: for newe [men] are more timorous, and lesse subtile: in clearing of a mans estate he may aswell hurt himselfe in being to suddaine,

as in letting it runne out to long; for hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest: he that hath a state to repaire may not despise small thinges: and commonly it is lesse dishonour to abridge petty charges, then to stoope to petty gettings: a man ought warily to begin charges w[ch] begun must continue, but in matters that returne not, he may be more liberall.

OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH

CAP: 7

THERE is a wisdome in this beyonde the rules of phisicke; a mans owne observation, what he findes good of, and what he findes hurt of, is the best phisick to preserue healthe, but it is a safer conclusion to say, this agreeth well w^th me, therefore I will continue it: I finde no offence of this, therefore I may vse it: for strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses, w^ch are owing a man till his age; discerne of the comming on of yeares, and thinke not to doe the same thinges still: beware of any suddaine chaunge in any greate pointe of diet: and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it: to be freeminded, and cheerefully disposed, at howres of meate, and of sleepe, and of excercise, is the best precept of long lasting: if you fly phisicke in healthe altogither, it will be to strong for your boddy when you shall neede it: if you make it to familiar it will worke no extraordinary effect when sicknesse commeth: despise no newe accident in the body, but aske opinion of it: in sicknes principally respecte healthe, and in healthe

action: for those that put their bodyes to indure in healthe, may in most sicknes w^ch^ are not very sharpe, be cured onely w^th^ diet, and good tending: Phisitions, are some of them so pleasing to the humors of the patient, that they presse not the true cure of the disease. and some others so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient: take one of a milde temper, and forget not to call aswell the best acquainted w^th^ your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

OF HONOUR, AND REPUTATION

CAP: 8

THE winning of Honour, is but the revealing of a mans vertue, and worth wthout disadvauntage: for some in their actions doe affect honour, and reputation, wch sorte of men are much talked of, but inwardly litle admired: and some darken their vertue in the shewe of it, so that they be undervalued, in opinion: If a man performe that wch hath not beene attempted before, or attempted, and giu'n over, or hath beene atcheived, but not wth so good circumstaunce; he shall purchase more honour, then by effecting a matter of greater difficulty wherein he is but a follower: if a man so temper his actions, as in some of them he doe content every faction, the musicke willbe the fuller. a man is an ill husband of his honour, that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more then the carying it through can honour him: discreete followers helpe much to reputation: Envy wch is the canker of honour is best extinguished by declaring a mans selfe in his endes, rather to seeke merrit then

fame, and by attributing a mans successe rather to providence, and fœlicity, then to his owne vertue, and policie. the true marshalling of the degrees of soveraigne honour are these: in the first place. Conditores. founders of states. In the 2d place are. LEGISLATORES. Lawgivers, wch are also called seconde founders: or PERPETVI. PRINCIPES. because they governe by their ordinaunces after they are gonne. In the 3d place are LIBERATORES. such as compounde the long miseries of civill warres, or deliver their countrie from the servitude of straungers, or Tirauntes. in the 4th place. are PROPAGATORES. or. PROPVGNATORES. IMPERII. such as in honorable warres inlarge their territories, or make noble defence against the Invadors: and in the last place are PATRIÆ PATRES. wch raigne Iustly, and make the times good wherein they liue. Degrees of Honour in subjects, are first. PARTICIPES CVRARVM. those vpon whome Princes doe discharge the greatest waight of their affaires, their right handes as we call them: the next are. DVCES. BELLI. greate Leaders, such as are Princes Leiuetenauntes, and doe them notable service in the wars: the 3d are. GRATIOSI. FAVORITES. such as exceede not this scantling to be solace to their soveraigne, and harmelesse to the people. and the 4th are called NEGOTIIS. PARES, such as haue greate places vnder Princes, and execute their places wth sufficiencye.

OF FACTION

[CAP: 9]

MANY haue a newe wisdome, otherwise called a fond opinion, that for a Prince to governe his estate, or for a greate person to governe his proceedings according to the respect of factions is the principall parte of pollicie: whereas contrariwise the chiefest wisdome is either in ordering those thinges wch are generall, and wherein men of severall factions doe nevertheles agree; or in dealing wth corrispondent persons one by one: but I say not that the consideration of factions is to be neglected: meane men must adheare, but greate men that haue strength in themselues were better to maintaine themselues indifferent, and neutrall: yet euen in beginners to adheare so moderately as he be a man of the one faction, wch is passablest wth the other commonly giveth best waye: the lower, and weaker faction is the firmer in condition: when one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth, wch is good for a second: it is commonly seene that men once placed take in wth the contrary

faction to that by w[ch] they enter: the traitor in factions lightly goeth away w[th] it, for when matters haue stuck long in ballancing the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thankes.

OF NEGOATIATING

CAP : 10

IT is better generally to deale by speeche, then by letters, and by the mediation of a third, then by ones selfe: ĺres are good, when a man would drawe an aunswere by letter backe againe, or when it may serue for a mans Iustification afterwardes to produce his owne ĺre: to deale in person is good, where a mans face breedes regarde, as commonly w^th^ inferiours: in choise of Instruments it is better to choose men of a plainer sorte, that are likely to doe that w^ch^ is committed vnto them, and to report back againe faithfully the successe; then they that are cunning to contriue out of other mens busines somewhat to grace themselues, and will helpe the matter in reporte for satisfactions sake: It is better to sounde a person w^th^ whome one dealeth a far of, then to fall vpon the pointe at first, except you meane to surprize him by some short question: It is better dealing w^th^ men of appetite, then w^th^ those who are where they would be: if a man deale w^th^ another vpon conditions, the start, or first

performaunce is all, wch a man cannot reasonably demaunde, except either the nature of the thing be such, wch must goe before, or else a man can perswade the other party that he shall neede him in some other thing, or else that he be counted the honester man: all practise is to discover, or to make men discover themselues in trust, in passion, at vnawares, and of necessity, where they would haue somewhat donne, and cannot finde an apt pretext: If you would worke any man, you must either knowe his nature, and fashions, and so leade him: or his endes, and so win him; or his weaknesses, or disadvauntages, and so awe him, or those that haue interest in him, and so governe him: In dealing wth cunning persons, we must ever consider their endes, to interpret their speaches, and it is good to say litle vnto them, and that wch they least looke for.

FINIS.

NOTES

Essay i

p. 1 [1] John xviii. 38. [3] Giddinesse: Lat. *cogitationum vertigine.* [4] to fix a Beleefe: Lat. *fide fixa aut axiomatibus constantibus constringi.* [7] discoursing: Lat. *ventosa et discursantia.* [13] Lat. *quæ ex ea innata cogitationum imponitur captivitas.* [15] Probably Lucian in his *Philopseudes.*

p. 2 [5] Candlelights: Lat. *tædæ lucernæque nocturnæ.* [13] Imaginations as one would: Lat. *imaginationes ad libitum.* [16] full of..Indisposition: Lat. *languoris pleni.* [17] It is not certain to whom Bacon alludes. He uses the same expression again in the *Advancement of Learning* (II. 22, § 14): "Did not one of the fathers in greate indignation call *Poesy vinum Demonum*, because it increaseth temptations, perturbations, and vaine opinions?" There is a passage in one of Jerome's letters to Damasus (Ep. 146) in which he says: "*Dæmonum cibus est carmina poetarum,*" and possibly Bacon might have had this in his mind and quoted from memory. But an allusion in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (Democritus to the reader, p. 103, ed. 1813) makes it probable that a saying of Augustine's is referred to. "Fracastorius, a famous poet, freely grants all poets to be mad; so doth Scaliger; and who doth not? (*Aut insanit homo, aut versus facit*, Hor. *Sat.* 7, l. 2. *Insanire lubet, i.e. versus componere*, Virg. *Ecl.* 3. So Servius interprets) all poets are mad, a company of bitter satyrists, detractors, or else parasitical applauders: and what is poetry itself, but (as Austin holds) *vinum erroris ab ebriis doctoribus propinatum?*" This is from Augustine's *Confess.* I. 16. The origin of the expression is probably the *calicem dæmoniorum* of the Vulgate of 1 Cor. x. 20. [28] The Latin omits "with:" *licet Poesis mendacii tantum umbra sit.* [29] Beleefe: Lat. *receptionem cum assensu.* [30] Enioying: Lat. *fruitio et amplexus.*

p. 3 [6] The Poet: Lucretius. beautified: Lat. *ornavit.* The "Sect" were the Epicureans. [8] Lucr. II. 1—10: quoted again in *Adv. of L.* I. 8, § 5.

Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis
E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem;..
Suave etiam belli certamina magna tueri,
Per campos instructa tua sine parte pericli,
Sed nil dulcius est, bene quam munita tenere
Edita doctrina sapientum templa serena
Despicere unde queas alios passimque videre
Errare atque viam palantis quærere vitæ.

[23] *Truth:* Lat. *veritatem aut potius veracitatem.* [25] cleare

and Round dealing: Lat. *apertam et minime fucatam in negotiis gerendis rationem.*

p. 4 [1] *Essais* II. 18. Montaigne in this passage is supposed to allude to Lysander's saying recorded by Plutarch: "For he sayd, that children should be deceiued with the play of Kayles, and men with othes of men" (North's *Plut.* p. 480, ed. 1595); on which Plutarch remarks, "for he that deceiueth his enemy, and breaketh his oth to him: sheweth plainly that he feareth him, but that he careth not for God." [7] *Lie:* Lat. *mendax.* [13] Luke xviii. 8.

ESSAY 2

p. 5 [3] Tales: Lat. *fabulosis quibusdam terriculamentis.* [4—7] In the ed. of 1612 this passage stood thus: "Certainely the feare of death in contemplation of the cause of it, and the issue of it, is religious: but the feare of it, for it selfe, is weake." [7] weake: Lat. *infirma et inanis.* [8] sometimes: added in 1625. [19] In ed. of 1612, "And to speake as a *Philosopher* or naturall man." [21] There is a passage in Seneca's Epistles (III. 3, § 14), which may have suggested this: "Tolle istam pompam sub qua lates et stultos irritas: mors es quem nuper servus meus, quem ancilla contempsit."

p. 6 [1] Blackes, and Obsequies: Lat. *atrata funera.* "Blackes," in the sense of mourning, occurs in Shakspere, *Winter's Tale*, I. 2:

"But were they false
As o're-dy'd *Blacks*, as Wind, as Waters."

[5] it Mates, and: added in 1625. [6] terrible: added in 1625. [7] Attendants: in the ed. of 1612 'followers.' [9] slights it: 'esteemes it not' (1612). [10] After '*Honour* aspireth to it,' the edition of 1612 has, "deliuery from *Ignominy* chuseth it," and this appears also in the Latin, *metus ignominiæ eligit.* [11] reade: 'see' (1612). Tac. *Hist.* II. 49. the Emperour: added in 1625. [14, 15] out of..Nay: added in 1625. [16] addes: 'speaketh of' (1612). *& Saciety:* added in 1625. Seneca, *Ep.* X. 1, § 6: comp. also III. 3, § 26: quoted again *Adv. of L.* II. 21, § 1. [18—21] A man..over: added in 1625. [22] in good Spirits: Lat. *in animo generoso et forti.* [23—25] 'but they are the same till the last' (1612). [26] Suet. *Aug.* c. 99. [28] Tac. *Ann.* VI. 50. [30] Suet. *Vesp.* c. 23. Dio Cass. LXVI. 17. Sitting upon the Stoole: added in 1625. [31] Tac. *Hist.* I. 41; Suet. *Galba*, c. 20. [32] Holding forth his Necke: added in 1625. [33] Dio Cass. LXXVI. 17. In all these passages the quotations were omitted in the ed. of 1612. In the MS. of that edition in the British Museum, which Mr Spedding describes (Bacon's Works, VI. p. 535), the clause "*Septimius Seuerus* in dispatch," is also omitted.

p. 7 [3] Juv. *Sat.* X. 357. The true quotation is

Qui spatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponit
Naturæ.

It occurs again in a parallel passage in the *Adv. of Learning*, II. 21, § 5: "And it seemeth to me, that most of the doctrines of the Philo-

sophers are more fearefull and cautionary then the Nature of things requireth. So haue they encreased the feare of death, in offering to cure it. For, when they would haue a mans whole life, to be but a discipline or preparation to dye: they must needes make men thinke, that it is a terrible Enemy, against whom there is no end of preparing. Better saith the Poet, &c." [6] is: added in 1625. [7—end] Added in 1625. [13] Luke ii. 29. [15] Comp. *Antitheta* XVI; *Nemo virtuti invidiam reconciliaverit præter mortem.* [17] Hor. *Ep.* II. 1, 14. Entered in the *Promus*, fol. 2 *a*.

ESSAY 3

p. 8. The Latin title is *De unitate ecclesiæ.* The Essay "Of Unity in Religion" has grown out of that 'Of Religion' which appeared in the edition of 1612, but has been so expanded and transformed that the differences cannot easily be indicated. I have therefore given the original Essay at length for the sake of comparison.

"The quarrels, and diuisions for *Religion*, were euils vnknowne to the Heathen: and no maruell; for it is the true God that is the iealous God; and the gods of the Heathen were good fellowes. But yet the bonds of religious vnity, are so to be strengthened, as the bonds of humane society be not dissolued. *Lucretius* the Poet, when hee beheld the act of *Agamemnon*, induring and assisting at the sacrifice of his daughter, concludes with this verse;

Tantū relligio potuit suadere malorum.

But what would hee haue done, if he had knowne the massacre of *France*, or the powder treason of *England?* Certainly he would haue beene seuen times more Epicure and Atheist then he was. Nay, hee would rather haue chosen to be one of the Madmen of *Munster*, then to haue beene a partaker of those Counsels. For it is better that Religion should deface mens vnderstanding, then their piety and charitie: retaining reason onely but as an *Engine*, and *Charriot driuer* of cruelty, and malice. It was a great blasphemie, when the Diuell said: *I will ascend, and be like the highest:* but it is a greater blasphemie, if they make God to say: *I will descend, and bee like the Prince of Darknesse:* and it is no better, when they make the cause of *Religion* descend, to the execrable accions of murthering of Princes, butchery of people, and firing of States. Neither is there such a sinne against the person of the holy Ghost, (if one should take it literally) as in stead of the likenes of a *Doue*, to bring him downe in the likenesse of a *Vulture*, or *Rauen;* nor such a scandall to their Church, as out of the Barke of Saint *Peter*, to set forth the flagge of a Barge* of *Pirats* and *Assassins*. Therefore since these thinges are the common enemies of humane society; *Princes* by their power; *Churches* by their Decrees; and all learning, Christian, morall, of what soeuer sect, or opinion, by their *Mercurie* rod; ought to ioyne in the damning to Hell for euer, these facts, and their supports; and in all Counsels concerning Religion,

* So in the original. In the copy in the Cambridge University Library it is corrected in MS. to 'Barke.'

that Counsell of the Apostle, would be prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet iustitiam Dei.*" [3] Band of *Unity:* Lat. *unitatis et charitatis vinculis.* [8] Beleefe: Lat. *confessione et fide.* [12] Ex. xx. 5.

p. 9 [7] Matt. xxiv. 26, quoted from the Vulgate. The same quotation occurs in the *Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England;* "Accordingly, was it foretold, by *Christ*, saying: *That in the latter times, it should be said; Lo here, loe there is Christ:* Which is to be understood, not as if the very *Person* of *Christ*, should be assumed, and counterfeitted; But his Authority, and preheminence, (which is to be Truth it self,) should be challenged and pretended Thus have we read, and seen, to be fulfilled, that which followeth, *Ecce in Deserto; Ecce in Penetralibus:* While some have sought the Truth, in the *Conventicles*, and *Conciliables*, of *Hereticks*, and Sectaries; others, in the *Externe Face*, and *Representation*, of the *Church:* And both Sorts have been seduced." And again in the same *Advertisement;* "But when these vertues in the *Fathers*, and *Leaders*, of the *Church*, have lost their Light; And that they wax worldly, *Lovers* of themselves, and *Pleasers* of Men: Then Men begin, to groap for the *Church*, as in the Dark; They are in doubt, whether they be the *Successours* of the *Apostles*, or of the *Pharises:* yea, howsoever they *sit in* Moses *Chair*, Yet they can never speak, *Tanquam Authoritatem habentes, as having Authority*, because they have lost their Reputation, in the Consciences of Men, by declining their steps, from the way, which they trace out to others. So as Men, had need, continually, have sounding in their Eares, this same; *Nolite Exire; Go not out:* So ready are they, to depart from the *Church*, upon every voice."

These are two instances out of many which will be given of the manner in which Bacon worked into his Essays his ripest and choicest thoughts.

[13] St Paul. [15] 1 Cor. xiv. 23. [18] "Two principal causes have I ever known of Atheism, curious controversies, and prophane scoffing." *Advertisement, &c.* [22] Ps. i. 1. [25] Rabelais. [27] *Pantag.* II. 7. *La morisque des hereticques.* [28] *Morrisdaunce:* Lat. *Saltationes florales et gesticulationes.*

p. 10 [8] The Latin adds *ad omnia in religione.* [10] 2 Kings ix. 18. [14] Rev. iii. 14—16. [20] "But we contend, about *Ceremonies*, and *Things Indifferent;* About the *Extern Pollicy*, and *Government* of the *Church.* In which kind, if we would but remember, that the Ancient, and True Bounds, of Unity, are, *One Faith, One Baptism;* And not, *One Ceremony, One Pollicy;* If we would observe the *League* amongst *Christians*, that is penned by our *Saviour; He that is not against us is with us*..we should need no other *Remedy* at all." (*Advertisement, &c. Resuscitatio*, p. 163, ed. 1657).

And again; "And therefore it is good we returne vnto the ancient bonds of vnitie, in the Church of God, which was one *Faith*, one *Baptisme*, and not one *Hierarchie*, one *Discipline*, and that wee obserue the league of *Christians* as it is penned by our Sauiour *Christ* which is in substance of doctrine this, *Hee that is not with vs, is against*

vs. But in things indifferent and but of circumstance, this, *Hee that is not against vs, is with vs.*" (*Certaine considerations touching the Church of England*, sig. B. 3, verso, ed. 1604.) Comp. *Adv. of L.* II. 25, § 7.
[21] in the two crosse Clauses: Lat. *in clausulis illis quæ primo intuitu inter se opponi videntur.* [23] Matt. xii. 30; Mark ix. 40.
[27] Lat. *quæ non sunt ex fide, sed ex opinione probabili, et intentione sancta propter ordinem et ecclesiæ politiam sancita.*
p. 11 [5] S. Bernard. *Ad Guillel. Abbat. Apologia* (p. 983 I., ed. Paris, 1640). "Et hac ratione in tota Ecclesia, quæ utique tam pluribus tamque variatur dissimilibus ordinibus, utpote regina quæ in psalmo legitur circumamicta varietatibus, nulla pax, nulla prorsus concordia esse putabitur."
And again, p. 984 II; "Relinquat videlicet sponsæ suæ Ecclesiæ pignus hæreditatis, ipsam tunicam suam, tunicam scilicet polymitam, eandemque inconsutilem et desuper contextam per totum."
This is one of Bacon's most favorite quotations. It occurs in the *Adv. of L.* II. 25, § 7, in his Speech on the Naturalization of the Scottish Nation (*Resuscitatio*, p. 15), and in his Speech concerning the Union of Laws (*Resusc.* p. 25). "One of the *Fathers*, made an excellent observation, upon the two *Mysteries*: The one, that in the *Gospell*; where the *Garment* of *Christ*, is said to have been without *Seame*; The other, that in the *Psalm*, where the *Garment*, of the Queen is said, to have been *of divers Colours*; And concludeth, *In veste Varietas sit, Scissura non sit.*" It is found again in *A Discourse, of the Union, of* England, *and* Scotland (*Resuscitatio*, p. 204), and in the *Articles touching the Union, of* England, *and* Scotland (ibid. p. 211). It was evidently in his mind at the *Charge at the Sessions of the Verge* (p. 6, ed. 1662). One other quotation is from the *Certaine Considerations touching the better pacification, &c. of the Church of England* (sig B 3, verso, ed. 1604): "The rest is left to the holy wisedome and spirituall discretion of the master-builders and inferiour builders in *Christes Church*, as it is excellently alluded by that Father that noted that *Christes garment* was without seame, and yet the Churches garment was of diuers collours, and thereupon setteth downe for a Rule; *In veste varietas sit scissura non sit.*" It is entered in the *Promus*, fol. 9 *b*.
Archdeacon Hare refers to the same passage of S. Bernard, in a charge delivered in 1842, on "The Means of Unity" (p. 17). The quotation is given at length in note B. The allusion is to Ps. xlv. 14, where, instead of "in raiment of needlework," the Vulgate has *circumamicta varietatibus.*
[20] Lat. *qui corda scrutatur et novit.* [21] 'not' should be omitted. [26] 1 Tim. vi. 20, from the Vulgate; quoted again in *Adv. of L.* I. 4, § 4.
p. 12 [4] Dan. ii. 33. [23] Lat. *quæ omnia manifesto tendunt ad majestatem imperii minuendam et auctoritatem magistratuum labefactandam; cùm tamen omnis legitima potestas sit a Deo ordinata.*
[31] Lucr. I. 95.

p. 13 [8] Is. xiv. 14. Bacon quotes it again in the *Adv. of L.* II. 22, § 17; "Aspiring to be like God in power, the Angells transgressed and fel: *Ascendam, & ero similis altissimo.*" [29] James i. 20, quoted from memory: the Vulgate is correctly given in *An Advertisement, &c.* (*Resuscitatio*, p. 176).

ESSAY 4

p. 14 [1] Comp. *Antitheta* XXXIX; *Vindicta privata, justitia agrestis. Vindicta, quo magis naturalis, eo magis coercenda.* [9] Prov. xix. 11.

p. 15 [5] Lat. *alias ipse sibi pœnam conduplicat, inimicus vero lucrum facit.* [15] The same saying is repeated in *Apoph.* 206. I have not been able to trace it in any books, and it is quite possible that in Bacon's time some sayings of Cosmo might still be traditional. [19] Job ii. 10. [27] Pertinax: *Hist. Aug. Script.* I. 578, ed. 1671. Henry the Third: the Latin has *Henrici Quarti magni illius Galliæ Regis.* There is no reason for the change; Bacon again alludes to the assassination of Henry 3 and Henry 4 in *A Charge in the Star-chamber against William Talbot* (*Resuscitatio*, p. 55,) "In *France*, *H.* 3, in the face of his Army, before the walls of *Paris*, stabbed, by a wretched *Jacobine Fryer*: *H.* 4 (a *Prince*, that the *French* do surname the *Great*;) One, that had been a Saviour, and Redeemer, of his Country from infinite Calamities; And a Restorer of that *Monarchy*, to the ancient State, and Splendour; and a *Prince*, almost, *Heroicall*; (except it be, in the Point, of *Revolt*, from *Religion*;) At a time when he was, as it were to mount on Horse-back, for the Commanding, of the greatest, Forces, that, of long time had been levied in *France*; This *King*, likewise, stiletted, by a *Rascal Votary*; which had been enchanted and conjured, for the purpose."
Henry 3 was assassinated by Friar Clement on the 2nd of August, 1589.

ESSAY 5

p. 16 [2] Seneca, *Ep.* VII. 4, § 29. [12] Seneca, *Ep.* VI. 1, § 12; quoted in *Adv. of L.* II. 20, § 5, and again in *De Sap. Vet.* c. 26, in connection with the same fable of Hercules. [17] Apollodorus, *de Deor. Orig.* II. c. 5. [20] "Hercules sailed across the ocean in a cup that was given to him by the Sun, came to Caucasus, shot the eagle with his arrows, and set Prometheus free." (Works, VI. p. 746, ed. Spedding). Bacon gives the same interpretation to this fable in *De Sap. Vet.* c. 26, but adds, at the end of the same chapter, another; "The voyage of Hercules especially, sailing in a pitcher to set Prometheus free, seems to present an image of God the Word hastening in the frail vessel of the flesh to redeem the human race. But I purposely refrain myself from all licence of speculation in this kind, lest peradventure I bring strange fire to the altar of the Lord." (Works, VI. p. 753, ed. Spedding).

p. 17 [4] World: the Latin adds *undique circumfusos.* But to speake in a Meane: Lat. *Verum ut a granditate verborum ad mediocritatem descendamus.* [24] Compare *Apoph.* 253: "Mr Bettenham

said; that virtuous men were like some herbs and spices, that give not their sweet smell, till they be broken or crushed." Mr B. was Autumn Reader of Gray's Inn in 1590. Bacon gives a curious explanation of this in his *Natural History* (cent. IV. exp. 390): "Most *Odours* smell best, *Broken*, or *Crusht*, as hath beene said; but *Flowers Pressed* or *Beaten*, doe leese the Freshnesse and Sweetnesse of their *Odour*. The *Cause* is, for that when they are *Crushed*, the Grosser and more *Earthy Spirit* commeth out with the Finer, and troubleth it; Whereas in stronger *Odours* there are no such Degrees of the Issue of the *Smell*."

ESSAY 6

p. 18 [1] Lat. *Artium civilium compendium quoddam et pars infirmior.* So in *Antitheta* XXXII; *Dissimulatio compendiaria sapientia.* [6] Tacitus saith: Lat. *quod discrimen bene apud Tacitum, Cæsarem Augustum inter, et Tiberium, adnotatum est. Etenim de Liviá sic ait, quod esset, &c.*
Tac. *Ann.* V. 1. Compare *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 31. "So tedious, casuall, and vnfortunate are these deepe dissimulations, whereof it seemeth *Tacitus* made this iudgement, that they were a cunning of an inferiour fourme in regard of true pollicy, attributing the one to *Augustus*, the other to *Tiberius*, where speaking of *Liuia*, he sayth: *Et cum artibus mariti simulatione filii bene composita*: for surely the continuall habite of dissimulation is but a weake and sluggish cunning, & not greatly politique." This passage appears to be the germ of the Essay. [9] And againe: Lat. *Idem alibi hisce verbis Mucianum inducit, Vespasianum ad arma contra Vitellium sumenda hortantem.* [11] Tac. *Hist.* II. 76, *non adversus divi Augusti acerrimam mentem, nec adversus cautissimam Tiberii senectutem.* [15] Habits and Faculties, severall, and: omitted in the Latin. [20] It is difficult to say whether Bacon had in his mind the *egregium publicum et bonas domi artes* of Tac. *Ann.* III. 70, or the *studia fori et civilium artium decus* of *Agr.* c. 39.

p. 19 [1] and a Poorenesse: omitted in the Latin. [5] or vary: omitted in the Latin. [20] *Closenesse, Reservation*, and *Secrecy*: Lat. *Taciturnitas.* [30] *Antith.* XXVIII; *Taciturnitas confessoris virtus. Taciturno nil reticetur; quia omnia tuto communicantur.* [33] Lat. *facile aliorum animos reserabit.*

p. 20 [7] *Secrecy*: Lat. *silentibus.* Comp. *Antith.* XXVIII. *Antith.* XXXII; *Etiam in animo deformis nuditas.* [12] *Antith.* XXVIII; *Qui facile loquitur quæ scit, loquitur et quæ nescit.* [18] Comp. *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 12: "We will beginne therefore with this precept, according to the aunciente opinion, that the Synewes of wisedome, are slownesse of beleefe, and distrust: That more trust bee giuen to Countenances and Deedes, then to wordes: and in wordes, rather to suddaine passages, and surprised wordes: then to set and purposed wordes: Neither let that be feared which is sayde, *fronti nulla fides*, which is meant of a generall outward behauiour, and not of the priuate and subtile mocions and labours of the countenance and gesture, which

as *Q. Cicero* elegantly sayth, is *Animi Ianua, the gate of the Mynd:* None more close then *Tyberius*, and yet *Tacitus* sayth of *Gallus*, *Etenim vultu offensionem coniectauerat.*" *Antith.* XXXIII; *Placet obscurus vultus, et perspicua oratio.* [30] Lat. *nisi obfirmato et absurdo silentio se quis muniat.*

p. 21 [21] Lat. *quod in hominis potestate relinquit, ut pedem referat et se absque existimationis suæ jacturâ de negotio subducat. Si quis enim se manifestâ declaratione obstringit, is cuneis quasi impactis includitur; aut pergendum est ei, aut turpiter desistendum.* [26] Lat. *verum assentabitur potius.* [30] In the *Promus*, fol. 6 *b*, the proverb stands thus, *Di mentira y saqueras verdad:* and in fol. 13 *a*, *Tell a lye to knowe a truth.* Compare *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 14; "And experience sheweth, there are few men so true to themselues, and so setled; but that sometimes vpon heate, sometimes vpon braueryе, sometimes vpon kindenesse, sometimes vpon trouble of minde and weaknesse, they open themselues; specially if they be put to it with a counter-dissimulation, according to the prouerb of Spain, *Di mentira, y sacaras verdad: Tell a lye, and find a truth.*" Lat. *perinde ac si simulatio clavis esset ad secreta reseranda.*

p. 22 [2] round: Lat. *perniciter.* [7—10] *Antith.* XXXII: *Qui dissimulat præcipuo ad agendum instrumento se privat, i.e. fide.* [11] Lat. *veracitatis famam.*

ESSAY 7

This Essay stands sixth in the ed. of 1612.

p. 23 [7] *Antith.* V; *Brutorum æternitas soboles; Virorum, fama, merita, et instituta.* [9—15] And surely..Posterity: added in 1625. [16] Houses: 'house' (1612). [17] Lat. *non tantum ut continuationem speciei suæ, sed ut rerum a se gestarum hæredes.* [20] 'The difference of affection in parents' (1612). [22] 'Specially' (1612).

p. 24 [1] Prov. x. 1. See *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 5. [6] middest: 'middle' (1612). [7] many times: added in 1625. [16] and: added in 1625. [22] Kinsfolkes: 'kinsfolke' (1612). [29] betimes: Lat. *in tenera ætate filiorum suorum.* [29]—end. Added in 1625. [31] Lat. *flexibiles et cerei.*

p. 25 [4] A sentence of Pythagoras preserved by Plutarch (*de Exilio*, c. 8); ἑλοῦ βίον ἄριστον· ἡδὺν δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ συνήθεια ποιησει. Jeremy Taylor (*Holy Dying*, p. 340, ed. Bohn), quotes as if from Seneca, *elige optimam vitam, consuetudo faciet jucundissimam.*

ESSAY 8

p. 26 [1] *Antith.* V; *Qui uxorem duxit et liberos suscepit, obsides fortunæ dedit.* [4] Certainly: Lat. *ut alibi diximus;* referring to Essay 7, and to a passage in the short piece *In felicem memoriam Elizabethæ* (Bacon's *Works*, VI. p. 296), of which Rawley gives the following translation in the *Resuscitatio*, p. 186. "*Childlesse* she was, and left no *Issue* behind Her; which was the Case of many, of the most fortunate *Princes*; *Alexander* the *Great*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Trajan* and

others. And this is a Case, that hath been often controverted, and argued, on both sides; Whilest some hold, the *want* of *Children*, to be a *Diminution*, of our *Happinesse*; As if it should be an Estate, more then Human, to be happy, both in our own *Persons*, and in our *Descendants*; But others, do account, the *want* of *Children*, as an *Addition* to *Earthly Happinesse*; In as much, as that *Happinesse*, may be said, to be compleat, over which *Fortune* hath no Power, when we are gone: Which, if we leave *Children*, cannot be." [6] In ed. 1612, after '*Men*,' is inserted, "which have sought eternity in memory, and not in posterity; and." [8—11] it were..pledges: added in 1625. See *Adv. of L.* II. prol. 1. [12] who though they: 'that' (1612). Lat. *qui licet liberis careant.* [13] yet their: 'whose' (1612). Lat. *tamen memoriæ suæ incuriosi sunt, et cogitationes vitæ tantum curriculo terminant.* [14] 'and doe account' (1612). [15] other: 'others' (1612). account: 'esteeme' (1612). [16]—p. 27 [1] Nay more..Riches: added in 1625.

p. 27 [3] 'Specially' (1612). humorous: Lat. *phantasticis.* [5] restraint: 'restriction' (1612). [8] but: added in 1625. [9] *Antith.* v; *Cœlibatus et orbitas ad nil aliud conferunt, quam ad fugam.* [11] doth well with: 'is proper for' (1612). [20] *Antith.* v; *Uxor et liberi disciplina quædam humanitatis; et cœlibes tetrici et severi.* [22—25] though..they: added in 1625. [23] Charitable: Lat. *munifici et charitativi.* [26, 27] because..upon: added in 1625. [27] Tendernesse: Lat. *indulgentia et teneritudo affectuum.* [30] Plut. *Gryll.* 1; Cic. *de Orat.* I. 44. Compare *Adv. of L.* I. 8, § 7; "*Vlysses, Qui vetulam prætulit immortalitati,* being a figure of those which preferre Custome and Habite before all excellencie." *suam:* added in 1625.

p. 28 [5] Quarrell: Lat. *ansa.* [6] The saying is attributed to Thales See Diog. Laert. I. 26, Plut. *Symp. Probl.* III. 6. "*Thales* the wise, being importuned by his mother (who pressed hard upon him) to marrie; pretily put her off, shifting and avoiding her cunningly, with words: for at the first time, when she was in hand with him, he said unto her: Mother, it is too soone, and it is not yet time: afterwards, when he had passed the flower of his age, and that she set upon him the second time, and was very instant: Alas mother, it is now too late, and the time is past." (Holland's trans. p. 691, ed. 1603.) It is repeated in *Apoph.* 220.

"Art thou yong? then match not yet; if old, match not at all.

—Vis juvenis nubere? nondum venit tempus.
Ingravescente ætate jam tempus præteriit.*

and therefore, with that philosopher, still make answer to thy friends that importune thee to marry, *adhuc intempestivum*, 'tis yet unseasonable, and ever will be." Burton, *Anat. of Mel.* pt. 3, sec. 2, mem. 6, subs. 3. [9—17] It is often seene..Folly: added in 1625. [13] Compare *Colours of Good and Evil*, 8, p. 262.

* Stobæus, *Serm.* 66. Alex, ab Alexand. lib. 4. cap. 8.

ESSAY 9

Compare with the beginning of this Essay, Bacon's *Natural History*, cent. x. exp. 944: "The *Affections* (no doubt) doe make the *Spirits* more *Powerfull*, and *Active;* And especially those *Affections*, which draw the *Spirits* into the *Eyes:* Which are two: *Loue*, and *Enuy*, which is called *Oculus Malus*. As for *Loue*, the *Platonists*, (some of them,) goe so farre, as to hold, that the *Spirit* of the *Louer*, doth passe into the *Spirits* of the *Person Loued*, Which causeth the desire of Returne into the *Body*, whence it was *Emitted:* Whereupon followeth that *Appetite* of *Contact*, and *Coniunction*, which is in *Louers*. And this is obserued likewise, that the *Aspects* that procure *Loue*, are not *Gazings*, but *Sudden Glances*, and *Dartings* of the *Eye*. As for *Enuy*, that emitteth some *Maligne* and *Poisonous Spirit*, which taketh hold of the *Spirit* of Another; And is likewise of greatest Force, when the *Cast* of the *Eye* is *Oblique*. It hath beene noted also, that it is most Dangerous, when an *Enuious Eye* is cast vpon *Persons* in *Glory*, and *Triumph*, and *Ioy*. The *Reason* whereof is, for that, at such times, the *Spirits* come forth most, into the *Outward Parts*, and so meet the *Percussion* of the *Enuious Eye*, more at *Hand*: And therefore it hath beene noted, that after great *Triumphs*, *Men* haue beene ill disposed, for some Dayes following. Wee see the Opinion of *Fascination* is Ancient, for both *Effects;* Of Procuring *Loue;* and *Sicknesse* caused by *Enuy:* And *Fascination* is euer by the *Eye*. But yet if there be any such *Infection* from *Spirit* to *Spirit*, there is no doubt, but that it worketh by *Presence*, and not by the *Eye* alone; Yet most forcibly by the *Eye*."

p. 29 [8] Comp. Reginald Scot's *Discouerie of Witchcraft* (XVI. 9. p. 485, ed. 1584). "This fascination (saith Iohn Baptista Porta Neapolitanus) though it begin by touching or breathing, is alwaies accomplished and finished by the eie, as an extermination or expulsion of the spirits through the eies, approching to the hart of the bewitched, and infecting the same, &c. Wherby it commeth to passe, that a child, or a yoong man endued with a cleare, whole, subtill and sweet bloud, yeeldeth the like spirits, breath, and vapors springing from the purer bloud of the hart. And the lightest and finest spirits, ascending into the highest parts of the head, doo fall into the eies, and so are from thence sent foorth, as being of all other parts of the bodie the most cleare, and fullest of veines and pores, and with the verie spirit or vapor proceeding thence, is conueied out as it were by beames and streames a certeine fierie force; whereof he that beholdeth sore eies shall haue good experience. For the poison and disease in the eie infecteth the aire next vnto it, and the same proceedeth further, carrieng with it the vapor and infection of the corrupted bloud: with the contagion whereof, the eies of the beholders are most apt to be infected." [10] Mark vii. 22.

p. 30 [17] a kinde of plaie-pleasure: Lat. *scenicam quandam voluptatem.* [22] Plaut. *Stich.* I. 3, 55; *Nam curiosus nemo'st quin sit malevolus.*

[25] Comp. *Antith.* 1; *Tanta solet esse industria hominum novorum, ut nobiles præ illis tanquam statuæ videantur.*

p. 31 [4] *Narses* (A.D. 472—568), the great general of Justinian, and rival of Belisarius. *Agesilaus.* "And for the deformitie of his legge, the one being shorter than the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleasant wit, hee vsed the matter so pleasantly and patiently, that he would merrily mocke himselfe: which maner of merry behauiour did greatly hide the blame of the blemish. Yea further, his life & courage was the more commendable in him, for that men saw that notwithstanding his lamenesse, he refused no paines nor labour." North's Plutarch, *Agesilaus*, p. 652, ed. 1595. Agesilaus II. was king of Sparta from 398 to 361 B.C. [16] Spartian. *Vit. Adrian.* 15. [19] Fellowes in office: Lat. *collegæ.* [25] Lat. *quinetiam in aliorum notam hæc Fortunæ collatio magis incurrit.* [27] Gen. iv. 5.

p. 32 [3] Liberality: Lat. *largitioni supra meritum.* [15] in their Rising: Lat. *cum honoribus cumulantur.* [18—20] And *Envy*... Flat: this passage was originally in the Essay "Of Nobility," in the ed. of 1612, where it stands thus; "and *Enuy* is as the sunne beames, that beate more vpon a rising ground, then vpon a leuell." [29] the more deepe, and sober: Lat. *magis sanos et sobrios.* [32] Lat. *Canentes illud, Quanta patimur.*

p. 33 [4] Ingrossing: Lat. *Monopolium.* [5] *Tamberlanes.* Tamerlane, or Timour, is said to have been lamed by a shepherd whose sheep he was stealing, and who shot him with arrows in the hip and shoulder. See Ahmed, *Vita Timuri*, ed. Manger, Vol. 1. p. 18. [23] Lat. *quam si callide et quasi furtim se notæ subtrahat.* [31] Witchcraft: Lat. *Veneficii et incantationis.* [32] The Lot (Lat. *Sors*) gave its name to the practisers of witchcraft, *Sorcerers*, Lat. *sortiarii.*

p. 34 [12] Lat. *instar salubris ostracismi.* In this form it occurs in the *Antitheta* XVI; *Invidia in rebus publicis, tanquam salubris ostracismus.* [25] Lat. *intermiscendo actiones gratas et populares odiosis.*

p. 35 [4] the State: Lat. *Regem, aut Statum ipsum.* [12] The same sentence occurs in the *Antitheta*, and the *Historia Vitæ et Mortis.* [20] Matt. xiii. 25.

Essay 10

This Essay first appeared in the edition of 1612, where it was placed twelfth in order, but was considerably enlarged in 1625. The first part stood thus: "*Loue* is the argument alwaies of *Comedies*, and many times of *Tragedies.* Which sheweth well, that it is a passion generally light, and sometimes extreme. Extreame it may well bee, since the speaking in a perpetuall *Hyperbole*, is comely in nothing, but *Loue.*"

p. 36 [1] See *Antitheta* XXXVI; *Amori multum debet scena, nihil vita.* [2] of Man: omitted in the Latin. [13] "Cleopatra oftentimes vnarmed Antonius, and intised him to her, making him lose matters of great importaunce, and very needefull iourneys, to come and be

dandled with her, about the riuers of Canobus, and Taphosiris." North's Plutarch, *Demetrius and Antonius*, p. 1010, ed. 1595.
[14] Livy III. 33; "In this new state of government, *Appius* was the man that bare the greatest stroke, he ruled the rost and swaied all the rest, so highly stood he in grace and favour with the people" (Holland's trans. p. 109, ed. 1600). The allusion is to the story of Virginia. [15] Lat. *legislatorum inter Romanos principem.* [16] Inordinate: Lat. *voluptatibus deditus.* [21] Lat. *abjectum quiddam et pusillanimum est illud Epicuri dictum.* [22] Seneca, *Ep.* I. 7, § 11: quoted also in *Adv. of L.* I. 3, § 6; "for it is a speech for a Louer, & not for a wise man: *Satis magnum alter alteri Theatrum sumus.*"

p. 37 [1] Comp. *Antitheta* XXXVI; *Augusta admodum contemplatio amor.* [10] Lat. *Neque hæc hyperbole solum modo in locutionis phrasi cernitur.* [12] By Plutarch (*de adul. et amico*, 11; *Op. Mor.* p. 48 F.); αὐτὸς, αὐτοῦ κόλαξ ἕκαστος ὢν πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος. See also Essay XXVII. p. 112, l. 26, and LIII. p. 214, l. 4. [13] have intelligence: Lat. *conspirant.* [17] Lat. *Recte itaque receptum est illud diverbium.* [19] weaknesse: Lat. *phrenesis.* [27] Ovid, *Her.* XVI. 133. *Amare et sapere vix Deo conceditur;* Publii Syri *Sent.* 15. [29] *Antith.* XVII; *Omnes, ut Paris, qui formæ optionem faciunt, prudentiæ et potentiæ jacturam faciunt.* [31] quitteth: Lat. *nuntium remittit.*

p. 38 [3] In ed. of 1612; "They doe best that make this affection keepe quarter, and seuer it wholly from their serious affaires and actions of their life." [4] *Love:* Lat. *amores.* make it keepe Quarter: Lat. *in ordinem redigunt.* [7] Lat. *turbat omnia.* [9—end] I know not...Imbaseth it: added in 1625. [9] This question is illustrated by Montaigne, *Essais* II. 23. Comp. Arist. *Pol.* II. 6, § 6.

ESSAY II

The title of this Essay in the Latin is *De Magistratibus et dignitatibus.* In the ed. of 1612 it stands eighth in order.

p. 39 [8] loose: Lat. *exuere.* It seems that the translator here mistook the English. In ed. 1612 it was 'lose.' Comp. *Antith.* VII; *Honorum ascensus arduus, statio lubrica, regressus præceps.* [14] Cic. *Ep. Fam.* (ad Marium) VII. 3; "Vetus est enim, ubi non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere." This quotation was added in 1625. It occurs in the *Promus*, fol. 11 *b*, where it is correctly *ubi &c.* Lat. *triste quiddam et melancholicum.* [19] Shadow: Lat. *umbram et otium.* [19—21] Like..Scorne: added in 1625.

p. 40 [1] Comp. *Antith.* VII; *Qui in honore sunt, opinionem mutuentur oportet, ut seipsos beatos putent.* [14] Seneca, *Thyest.* II. 401. [18] Comp. *Antith.* VII; *Honores dant fere potestatem earum rerum, quas optima conditio est nolle, proxima non posse.* [24] Lat. *sine munere aliquo publico et potestate.* [25] and good Works: added in 1625. [27] the same: 'merit,' in ed. of 1612. [28] 'can be in any measure,' in ed. of 1612. [29] Gen. i. 31. Bacon again quotes

from memory, for his Latin does not correspond with that of any version I have consulted.

p. 41 [2] Lat. *num non melius inceperis quam perstiteris.* [3—7] Neglect..avoid: added in 1625. [7] therfore: added in 1625. without Braverie: Lat. *absque elatione tui ipsius.* [15] Lat. *contende ut quæ agis pro potestate tanquam regulis quibusdam cohibeantur, ut hominibus tanquam digito monstres.* Course: 'courses' in MS. [illegible]

[illegible] *non subordinatorum.* [28] Advices 'intelligence' in ed. of 1612. [29] accept of: Lat. *allicias et recipias.* [30] Lat. *in auctoritate utendâ et exercendâ.*

p. 42 [1] In ed. of 1612, "do not only bind thine owne hands, or thy seruants hands that may take; but bind the hands of them that should offer." [5] Lat. *prædicata et ex professo.* [10—14] Therefore ..steale it: added in 1625. [11] declare: Lat. *declares et inculces.* [14] Lat. *servus gratiosus et apud dominum potens.* [16] to close *Corruption:* added in 1625. close: omitted in Lat. [17] Lat. *invidiam et malevolentiam parit illa, nihil inde metens.* [21] Comp. *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 5; where Bacon remarks upon the same verse of the Proverbs: "Here is noted that a iudge were better be a briber, then a respecter of persons: for a corrupt Iudge offendeth not so lightly as a facile." [25] Prov. xxviii. 21. [27] ἀρχὴ τὸν ἄνδρα δείκνυσιν: attributed by some to Pittacus of Mitylene, by others to Solon. Aristotle (*Mor.* v.) quoted it in the name of Bias. Epaminondas (Plut. *Præc. Civ.* xv. 2) varied it; οὐ μόνον ἡ ἀρχὴ τὸν ἄνδρα δείκνυσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀνήρ. (*Adagia*, p. 226; ed. Grynæus, 1629). The saying also occurs in Guicciardini (*Maxims*, 72; Eng. tr.), and at the conclusion of his History. *Magistratus virum indicat*, in the *Promus*, fol. 7*b*. [29] Tac. *Hist.* I. 49. [31] Tac. *Hist.* I. 50: quoted again in *Adv. of L.* II. 22, § 5, where it is introduced with, "*Tacitus* obserueth how rarely raising of the fortune mendeth the disposition." [33] of Sufficiencie: Lat. *de arte imperatoriâ.* [34] an assured Signe: Lat. *signum luculentissimum.*

p. 43 [2] Comp. *Antitheta* VII; *Virtutis, ut rerum aliarum, rapidus motus est ad locum, placidus in loco: est autem virtutis locus honos.* [4] Comp. *Adv. of L.* II. 10, § 1: "So that it is no maruaile, though *the soule* so placed, enioy no rest, if that principle be true, that *Motus rerum est rapidus extra locum, Placidus in loco.*" In the *Promus* already referred to, fol. 8 *b*, there is this note; "Augustus rapide ad locum leniter in loco." and calme: omitted in MS. [6] in Authoritie: Lat. *in honore adepto.* [7—end] All Rising..*another Man:* added in 1625. [8] to side a Mans selfe: Lat. *alteri parti adhærere.* Here again the translator seems to have missed the point. [18] Lat. *in quotidianis sermonibus aut conversatione privatâ.*

ESSAY 12

p. 44 [1] Lat. *tritum est dicterium.* [3] Cic. *de Orat.* III. 56, § 213; *de clar. Orat.* 38; *Orat.* 17. Quintilian (XI. 3) substitutes *pronunciatio* for *actio.* Archdeacon Hare has some remarks upon this anecdote in *Guesses at Truth*, pp. 147—151, 2nd series, 2nd ed. 1848. [10] Lat. *histrionis potius virtus censenda est quam oratoris.* [18] *Antith.* XXXIII; *Quid actio oratori, id audacia viro civili; primum, secundum, tertium.*

p. 45 [1] Lat. *captivos ducit eos.* [5] in Popular States: Lat. *in Democratiis.* [23] I have been unable to trace any foundation for this story of Mahomet. The saying is a common Spanish proverb and appears in Bacon's *Promus*, or Common-place book, fol. 20 *b*, as follows: *Se no va el otero a Mahoma vaya Mahoma al otero.* But, singularly enough, in a letter from Antonio Perez to the Earl of Essex, it is quoted in exactly the converse form: "Tu videris quo id modo fiet, an ego ad templum, an, ut solebant loqui Hispani Mauri, *si no puede yr Mahoma a Lotero* (i.e. al otero), *venga Lotero* (i.e. el otero) *a Mahoma*, templum cum aliqua occasione huc se conferat." *Antonii Perezii ad Comitem Essexium..epistolarum centuria una.* Norimb. 1683, ep. 14, p. 18. I am indebted for this reference to the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge.

p. 46 [2] Lat. *vultum enim tunc nanciscitur in se reductum sed deformiter.* [6] Lat. *sed audaces, quando tale quidpiam illis contingit, attoniti hærent.* [11] Hence the proverb, 'Who so bold as blind Bayard?'

ESSAY 13

p. 47 [1] Lat. *ut sit affectus qui hominum commoda studeat et bene velit.* [3] And: 'for' (1612). [4] is a little too light: Lat. *levius aliquanto est atque angustius.* [5] Habit: Lat. *affectum et habitum.* [7] and Dignities of the Minde: added in 1625. [8] Lat. *cum sit ipsius divinæ naturæ adumbrata quædam effigies et character.* [9] Man: Lat. *homo animalis.* [11] *Goodnesse:* Lat. *bonitas moralis.* [13]—p. 48 [6] The desire..committed: added in 1625. [19] Lat. *quæ, si benefaciendi materiâ aut occasione destituta, non inveniat quo se exerceat in homines, deflectet certe in brutas animantes.*

p. 48 [2] *Leg. Turc. epist. quat.* ep. III. p. 133, ed. 1605. Bacon's memory was here at fault. The offender was a Venetian goldsmith who delighted in fowling, and had caught a goatsucker, or some such bird, about the size of a cuckoo and nearly of the same colour. Its bill when open would admit a man's fist. The goldsmith, by way of a joke, fixed the bird alive over his door, with a stick in its mouth to keep the beak distended. The Turks were enraged, seized the man, dragged him before a judge, and with difficulty allowed him to escape. In the Latin translation the correct version is given. *Adeo ut, (referente Busbequio) Aurifex quidam Venetus, Byzantii agens, vix furorem populi effugerit quod avis cujusdam, rostri oblongi, fauces inserto*

baculo diduxisset. [7] This proverb is entered in the *Promus*, fol. 20 *a*. [9] One of the Doctors of *Italy:* omitted in the Latin. The Italian translation has "quel empio Nicolo Macciavello." [10] *Macciavel:* see *Disc. sopr. Livio*, II. 2. [20] Lat. *ne te illorum interea aut vultibus aut voluntatibus mancipio dedas.* [21] or: 'and' (1612). [23] Phædr. III. 12. A good story is told in *Apoph.* 203, in which an allusion to this fable is brought in. "When peace was renewed with the French in England, divers of the great counsellors were presented from the French with jewels. The Lord Henry Howard was omitted. Whereupon the King said to him; *My Lord, how haps it that you have not a jewel as well as the rest?* My Lord answered again, (alluding to the fable in Æsop;) *Non sum Gallus, itaque non reperi gemmam.*" I think it very probable that this story was in Bacon's mind when he wrote the Essay. [26] Matt. v. 45. [29] 'honours' in MS. [31] with choice: Lat. *paucis et cum delectu.*

p. 49 [2] Mark x. 21. [16] Difficilnesse: the Latin adds *libidinem.* [17—22] Such men..raw: added in 1625. [18] Lat. *fere florent, easque semper aggravant.* [20] Luke xvi. 21. [22] raw: Lat. *cruda quæque et excoriata.* 'There be many *Misanthropi*' (1612). Lat. *non paucos reperias misanthropos.* [25] See Timon's speech to the Athenians as given by Plutarch. "My Lords of Athens, I haue a litle yard in my house where there groweth a figge tree, on the which many citizens haue hangd themselues: & because I meane to make some building on the place, I thought good to let you all vnderstand it, that before the fig tree be cut downe, if any of you be desperate, you may there in time goe hang yourselues." North's Plutarch, *Antonius*, p. 1002, ed. 1595. Comp. Shakspere, *Tim. of Athens*, v. 2, 'I have a tree, which grows here in my close, &c.' [26] Lat. *humanæ naturæ vomicas et carcinomata;* cf. Suet. *Aug.* 65. [27] great Politiques: Lat. *mercurii politici.* [31]—p. 50 [14] The parts..*Christ* himselfe: added in 1625.

p. 50 [6] Lat. *supra injuriarum jactum et tela.* [9] Trash: Lat. *sarcinas.* [10] Rom. ix. 3. See *Adv. of L.* II. 20, § 7, where the same passage is alluded to. "But it may be truly affirmed that there was neuer any phylosophy, Religion or other discipline, which did so playnly and highly exalt the good which is *Communicatiue* and depresse the good which is priuate and particuler as the Holy faith: well declaring that it was the same God, that gaue the Christian Law to men, who gaue those Lawes of nature, to inanimate Creatures that we spake of before; for we reade that the elected Saints of God haue wished themselues Anathematized, and razed out of the Booke of life, in an extasie of Charity, and infinite feeling of *Communion.*"

ESSAY 14

Greatly altered and enlarged from the ed. of 1612, in which it was differently arranged. The Essay in that edition began at p. 52, l. 14, "It is a reuerend thing..p. 53, l. 2, Honour;" with the additional

clause, "and *Enuy* is as the sunne beames, that beate more vpon a rising ground, then upon a leuell;" which was afterwards incorporated in the Essay 'Of Envy.' Then followed the passage, p. 51, l. 22—p. 52, l. 7: "A great..Maiesty of Kings."

The other variations will be noted in the course of the Essay.

p. 51 [1—21] Added in 1625. [12] Lat. *vel si omnino in personas, id fit tanquam in maxime idoneas rebus gerendis, minime vero ut ratio habeatur insignium aut imaginum.* [17] Respects: Lat. *dignitas.* [22] and Potent: added in 1625.

p. 52 [3] Fortune: 'fortunes' (1612). [5] Lat. *ut insolentia popularis illorum reverentiâ tanquam obice retundatur.* [8—14] A Numerous *Nobility..Persons:* added in 1625. [8] Lat. *Rursus numerosa nobilitas, quæ plerumque minus potens est, statum prorsus depauperat.* [16] Lat. *annosam et proceram arborem.* [21] Those that are first raised to *Nobility:* 'The first raisers of *Fortunes*' (1612). [24] any: added in 1625. [27] Posterity: 'posterities' (1612). [32] Lat. *invidiæ stimulis vix carebit.* [34] from; 'in' (1612); "from others towards them;" omitted in the Latin.

p. 53 [1] Lat. *eo quod nobiles in honorum possessione nati videntur.* [2] Lat. *prudentes et capaces.* [3] Lat. *negotia sua mollius fluere sentient, si eos potissimum adhibeant.*

Essay 15

Not published in the edition of 1612, though evidently written before that time. It is found in a MS. of that edition which is preserved in the British Museum (Harl. MSS. 5106), and was written, according to Mr Spedding, between the years 1607 and 1612. He has printed this earlier form in his edition of Bacon's Works, Vol. VI. p. 589.

p. 54 [2] *Kalenders:* Lat. *prognostica.* [5] *Æquinoctia.* The word 'equinox' was apparently not yet naturalized, though it was in use many years before. Thus in Blundevile's *Exercises*, fol. 149 *a:* "The Colure of the *Equinoxes* is so called because it cutteth the Zodiaque in the beginning of Aries, which is called the vernal *Equinoxe:* and also in the beginning of Libra, which is called the Autumnall *Equinoxe*, at which two times the dayes and nightes be equall." [6] hollow: Lat. *cavos et veluti e longinquo.* of Winde: omitted in MS. [7] a Tempest: 'tempests' in MS. Lat. *idem evenit ingruentibus procellis politicis.* [9] *Ille etiam:* omitted in MS. Virg. *Georg.* I. 465. [12] Lat. *Famosi libelli, et licentiosi et mordaces sermones in status scandalum.* [12—16] against..embraced: omitted in MS. [14] Lat. *novarum rerum rumores mendaces.*

p. 55. [1] Virg. *Æn.* IV. 179; quoted in *Adv. of L.* II. 4, § 4. "In Heathen Poesie, wee see the exposition of Fables doth fall out sometimes with great felicitie, as in the Fable that the Gyants beeing ouerthrowne in their warre against the Gods, the Earth their mother in reuenge thereof brought forth Fame.

Illam terra Parens, &c.

Expounded that when Princes & Monarches haue suppressed actuall

and open Rebels, then the malignitie of people, (which is the mother of Rebellion,) doth bring forth Libels & slanders, and taxations of the states, which is of the same kind with Rebellion, but more Feminine." The same passage was in his mind when he wrote his *History of Hen. 7* (p. 137, ed. 1622): "Hereupon presently came forth Swarmes and Volies of Libels (which are the gusts of Libertie of Speach restrayned, and the Females of Sedition)." See also *de Sap. Vet.* c. IX. [5] Fames: the MS. adds 'and rumours.' [6] indeed: omitted in MS. [7] Howsoever, he noteth: 'But he notes' in MS. [9] Brother and Sister: omitted in MS. [10—22] Especially..Long-lived: omitted in MS. [12] the most plausible: Lat. *quæ merito plausum vulgi mererentur.* [15] Tac. *Hist.* I. 7. The passage, according to one reading, stands *inviso semel principe, seu bene seu male facta premunt*, and the present is a good illustration of Bacon's manner of quotation on which Mr Spedding remarks (Works, I. p. 13, note). [17, 18] 'that' should be omitted in one of these lines. [21] the Going about: Lat. *conatus sedulus.* [22] Lat. *nihil aliud fere efficit quam ut durent magis.* [23] Obedience: the Latin adds *in exequendis jussis.* speaketh of: in the MS. 'describeth in an Army.' [24] Tac. *Hist.* II. 39, *miles alacer qui tamen jussa ducum interpretari quam exsequi mallet.* [29] disputings: the Latin adds *circa mandata.* [26—32] Disputing..audaciously: instead of this passage the MS. has: "When mandats fall to be disputed and distinguished, and new sences given to them, it is the first Essay of disobeying." [32] audaciously: Lat. *audacius et contumacius.* [33] Probably in *Disc. sopr. Livio*, III. 27. The Italian translation, instead of *Macciavel*, has only *un scrittore.* noteth well: in the MS. 'well notes.' [34] Parents: in the MS. 'fathers.'

p. 56 [1] leane to a side: the MS. adds, 'in the state.' [2] MS. 'that tilts aside before it overthrowes.' [3—12] As was..Possession: omitted in MS. [16—26] For the Motions..Frame: not in MS. [18] *Primum Mobile.* The tenth heaven, according to the old Astronomers. In Blundevile's *Exercises* (fol. 137 *b*, ed. 1594), the 6th chapter of 'the first booke of the Spheare' is "Of the tenth Spheare or heauen, called in Latine *primum mobile*, that is, the first moueable, and what motion it hath." It is described as follows: "This heauen is also of a most pure and cleare substance and without starres, and it continually mooueth with an equall gate from East to West, making his reuolution in 24. houres, which kind of moouing is otherwise called the diurnall or daily moouing, & by reason of the swiftnesse thereof, it violently caryeth & turneth about all the other heauens that are beneath it from East to West, in the selfe same space of 24. houres, whether they will or not, so as they are forced to make their owne proper reuolutions, which is contrary from West to East, euery one in longer or shorter time, according as they be far or neare placed to the same." [22] Great ones: Lat. *viri primores et nobiles.* [24] Tac. *Ann.* III. 4, again quoted from memory. The passage stands, *promptius apertiusque quam ut meminisse imperitantium crederes.* [26] For: 'And' in MS. [28] Job xii. 18; Is. xlv. 1. The MS. has

'who threatneth the dissolving thereof, as one of his great judgements.' [30] Shaken: 'shakened' in MS. [33] passe from: 'leave' in MS. [33]—p. 57 [1] Concerning..followeth: omitted in MS.

p. 57 [1—4] In MS. 'and speake of the materialls, and the causes, and the remedyes.' [3] Lat. *de earum causis et flabellis.* [5—11] Concerning..Fire: omitted in MS. [12] *Discontentment:* in MS. 'discontent,' Lat. *præsentium rerum tædium.* [13] It is certain: in MS. 'certainly.' *Overthrowne Estates;* Lat. *hominum res attritæ et decoctæ fortunæ.* [15] *Rome:* 'the tymes' in MS. before: Lat. *paulo ante.* [17] Lucan, *Phars.* I. 181. The true reading is *avidum* for *rapidum* and *Et* for *Hinc* in the second line. [20] In his tract 'Of the true greatness of the kingdom of Britain,' Bacon makes a different application of this quotation: "For it is necessary in a state that shall grow and inlarge, that there be that composition which the poet speaketh of, *Multis utile bellum;* an ill condition of a state (no question) if it be meant of a civil war, as it was spoken; but a condition proper to a state that shall increase, if it be taken of a foreign war. For except there be a spur in the state that shall excite and prick them on to wars, they will but keep their own and seek no further." (Bacon's Works, ed. Spedding, VII. p. 59). assured and infallible: Lat. *certum.* [22] 'troubles and seditions' in MS. [22—26] And if..worst: omitted in MS. [26—30] In MS. 'For discontents, they are the verie humors in the politique body apt to gather a præternatural heate and to inflame.' [27] *Discontentments:* Lat. *alienationes animorum et tædium rerum præsentium.* [28] Humours: Lat. *malignium humorum.* [30] no Prince: in MS. 'not Princes.' [31] be: in MS. 'are.' [32] to be: omitted in MS. [34] who doe often spurne at their owne Good: omitted in MS.

p. 58 [2] Lat. *ex quibus invidia oritur.* rise: in MS. 'arrise.' fact: in MS. 'true proportion.' [4] *Discontentments:* in MS. 'kindes of discontents.' [5—17] *Dolendi..pull:* omitted in MS. [5] Plin. *Ep.* VIII. 17. [6] great: Lat. *maximis.* [7] mate the Courage: Lat. *animos frangunt.* [10] *Discontentments:* Lat. *alienationem animorum et invidiam grassantem.* [15] Lat. *tandem glomerantur et ruunt.* [16] This proverb is entered in the *Promus*, fol. 13*a*, in the following form: *en fin la soga quiebra por el mas delgado.* In Collins's *Spanish Proverbs*, p. 126, it is *El hilo por lo mas delgado quiebra.* The English form is, *The last straw breaks the camel's back.* [18] and *Motives:* omitted in Lat. [19] *Innovation* in: omitted in MS. 'Alterations' in MS. *Taxes:* Lat. *tributa et census.* [20] 'breaking priviledges' in MS. Lat. *immunitatum et privilegiorum violatio.* [21] Lat. *ad honores et magistratus promotio.* [22] *Disbanded Souldiers; Factions growne desperate:* omitted in MS. [24] and knitteth: omitted in MS. [26—29] In MS. 'For the remedyes, there maie be some generall preservatives; the cure must aunsweare to the particuler disease.' From p. 58, l. 29, 'And so be left, &c.' to p. 60, l. 32, 'Common People' is omitted in the MS.

p. 59 [2] Lat. *artifices et manufacturas introducere et fovere.* [3] Lat.

desidiam et otium. [9] Lat. *temporibus scilicet pacis quando gladius nihil demetit.* [23] Preferments: Lat. *vocationes civiles.* [29] Lat. *materiam mercium.* [33] Ovid. *Met.* II. 5.

p. 60 [2] See Burton's *Anat. of Mel.* (Democritus to the Reader, p. 77, ed. 1813): "The Low Countries generally have three cities at least for one of ours, and those far more populous and rich: and what is the cause, but their industry and excellency in all manner of trades, their commerce, which is maintained by a multitude of tradesmen, so many excellent channels made by art, and opportune havens, to which they build their cities? all which we have in like measure, or at least may have. But their chiefest loadstone, which draws all manner of commerce and merchandise, which maintains their present estate, is not fertility of soyl but industry that enricheth them: the gold mines of Peru or Nova Hispania may not compare with them. They have neither gold nor silver of their own, wine nor oyl, or scarce any corn growing in those United Provinces, little or no wood, tin, lead, iron, silk, wool, any stuff almost, or mettle; and yet Hungary, Transilvania, that brag of their mines, fertile England, cannot compare with them." [9] Comp. *Apoph.* 252. "Mr Bettenham used to say; *That riches were like muck; when it lay upon an heap, it gave but a stench and ill odour; but when it was spread upon the ground, then it was cause of much fruit.*" [12] Lat. *voragines illas fœnoris, monopoliorum, et latifundiorum in pascua conversorum.* *Usurie:* see *Hist. of Hen.* 7, p. 66; "There were also made good and politike Lawes that *Parliament* against *Vsurie* which is the *Bastard vse* of Money." *Pasturages:* see *Hist. of Hen.* 7, p. 73. The whole passage will be found in a note on Essay 29, p. 122, where it is directly referred to. In 1597 Bacon made a speech in the House of Commons upon this subject, in which he said: "For enclosure of grounds brings depopulation, which brings forth first idleness, secondly decay of tillage, thirdly subversion of houses and decrease of charity and charge to the poor's maintenance, fourthly the impoverishing the state of the realm." (Mr Spedding's *Letters and Life of Fr. Bacon*, II. p. 82.) [24] John v. 4. [25] Lat. *ut ita demum animos exulceratos prodere possint.* [26] Hom. *Il.* I. 398. The fable is alluded to in *Adv. of L.* II. 4, § 4. "So in the Fable that the rest of the Gods hauing conspired to binde *Iupiter*, *Pallas* called *Briareus* with his hundreth hands to his aide, expounded, that Monarchies neede not feare any courbing of their absolutenesse by Mightie Subiects, as long as by wisedome they keepe the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side." In Homer it is Thetis, not Pallas, who calls Briareus. [33] and *Discontentments:* not in MS. [34] The MS. has: "so it be without bravery or importunitye." Lat. *ut ebulliant eorum dolores et in fumos abeant.*

p. 61 [2] In the *Hist. of Hen.* 7, p. 137, Bacon says, after the execution of Stanley, Lord Chamberlain, "men durst scarce commune or talke one with another: but there was a generall Diffidence euery where. Which neuerthelesse made the King rather more *Absolute*, then more *Safe.* For, *Bleeding Inwards and shut Vapours strangle soonest, and oppresse most.*" backe: not in MS. and: 'or' in MS.

[5—8] The Part..them: the MS. has, 'Also the part of *Epimetheus* may become *Prometheus* in this case.' Comp. *de Sap. Vet.* c. 26. [8] *Epimetheus:* in MS. 'Hee.' [9] at last shut the lid: omitted in MS. [10] Certainly: omitted in MS. [11] and Entertaining: the MS. has 'of some degree.' [13] Bacon had written otherwise of Hope, and more bitterly, in *Meditationes Sacræ*, "De Spe Terrestri," which was published in 1597. He there says, (I quote from the English translation published in 1598): "And therefore it was much lightnesse in the Poets to faine Hope to bee as a counterpoyson of humaine deceases, as to mittigate and asswage the fury & anger of them, whereas in deede it doth kindle and enrage them, & causeth both doubling of them and relapses." [14] Discontentments: MS. 'discontents.' [15] and Proceeding: omitted in MS. [16] when*o*. Satisfaction: MS. 'if it can hold by hope where it cannott by satisfaction.' [17—24] And when..beleeve not: omitted in MS. [23] Lat. *ostentare in gloriam suam.* [26] Bacon had this in mind afterwards when he wrote *Considerations touching a Warre with Spaine:* "They (the Spaniards) bragged, that they doubted not, but to abuse and lay asleepe the *Queene* and *Counsell* of England, as to haue any feare of the Party of *Papists* here; For that they knew (they said) the *State* would but cast the eye, and looke about, to see whether there were any Eminent Head of that Party, vnder whom it might vnite it selfe; And finding none worth the thinking on, the *State* would rest secure, and take no apprehension" (p. 28. ed. 1629). [26] *Discontented Persons:* MS. 'discontents.' [29] Lat. adds, *et ducem idoneum.* [31] Lat. *acceptus est et gratiosus.* [33] MS. 'that is thought discontent in his particular.' [54]—p. 62 [4] which kinde..reputation: omitted in MS.

p. 62 [5] Generally: MS. 'also.' all Factions, and Combinations: MS. 'anie combination.' [6] are: MS. 'is.' [7, 8] and setting ..themselves: omitted in MS. [8] not one: MS. 'none.' [10] The MS. has, "if the true parte of the State." [12] The MS. has, 'the false, entyer and unyted.' [13—32] I have..noted: omitted in MS. [15] Lat. *exitiale sibi vulnus inflixit.* [16] Suet. *Jul. Cæs.* 77. Quoted in *Adv. of L.* I. 7, § 12: "vpon occasion, that some spake, what a strange resolution it was in *Lucius Sylla*, to resigne his Dictature; he scoffing at him, to his owne aduantage, answered; *That Sylla could not skill of Letters, and therefore knew not how to Dictate.*" Apoph. 135. [21] Tac. *Hist.* I. 5. [23] Flav. Vop. *Prob.* 20. [28] See quotation from the *Adv. of L.* given in the note to p. 20, l. 18. [34] one, or rather more: omitted in MS.

p. 63 [1] Lat. *militiâ et fortitudine spectatus.* Valour: in MS. 'valew.' [4] Court: MS. 'Courts.' Lat. *in aulis principum.* first: omitted in MS. [6] Tac. *Hist.* I. 28. [9]—end. The MS. has, "But lett such one be an assured one and not popular, and holding good correspondence with the gowne men; or els the remedy is worse then the disease. [11] Lat. *et cum cæteris proceribus bene comparati.*

Essay 16

Considerably enlarged from the ed. of 1612.

p. 64 [2] Lat. *Alcorani Talmudi aut legendæ.* *Legend:* the Golden Legend, or *Legenda Aurea*, a collection of lives of Saints and other stories, written by Jacobus de Voragine. The Italian translation omits 'the *Legend.*' and the *Talmud:* added in 1625. [4] See *Adv. of L.* II. 6, § 1: "There was neuer Miracle wrought by God to conuert an Atheist, bycause the light of Nature might haue ledde him to confesse a God." [5] *Atheisme:* 'Atheists' (1612). [6] convince it: 'conuince them' (1612). It is true that: 'Certainely' (1612). [7] Mans minde: omitted in MS. Comp. *Adv. of L.* I. 1, § 3: "It is an assured truth, and a conclusion of experience, that a little or superficiall knowledge of Philosophie may encline the minde of Man to Atheisme, but a further proceeding therein doth bring the mind backe againe to Religion: for in the entrance of Philosophie, when the second Causes, which are next vnto the sences, do offer themselues to the minde of Man, if it dwell and stay there, it may induce some obliuion of the highest cause; but when a man passeth on further, and seeth the dependance of causes, and the workes of prouidence; then according to the allegorie of the Poets, he will easily beleeue that the highest Linke of Natures chaine must needes be tyed to the foote of *Iupiters* chaire." [8] Mens Mindes: 'men' (1612). [9] while: 'when' (1612). [10—12] it may..further: 'it resteth in them' (1612). [12] the Chaine of: added in 1625. [13] Linked: 'knit' (1612). [13, 14] must needs flie: 'flies' (1612). [14] Nay even: 'Most of all' (1612). [15] Lat. adds, *si quis vere rem introspiciat.* [16] most: added in 1625. [17] *Leucippus:* the founder of the atomic theory. The date and place of his birth are unknown. *Democritus:* born at Abdera in Thrace B.C. 460, died B.C. 357. *Epicurus:* born in the island of Samos B.C. 342, died at Athens B.C. 270. [19] "Aristoteles of *Stagira* the sonne of *Nichomachus*, hath put downe for Principles these three, to wit, a certaine forme called *Entelechia*, Matter, and Privation: for elements, foure, and for a fifth Quintessence, the heavenly bodie which is immutable." Holland's *Plutarch*, p. 808. [22] unplaced: Lat. *sine ordine fortuitò vagantium.*

p. 65 [2] Ps. xiv. 1. This text is taken as the motto for the 10th meditation in *Meditationes Sacræ*, "De Atheismo," with which this Essay has many points of resemblance, as the following passages will shew. "First, *he hath said in his heart;* it is not said, *he hath thought in his heart:* that is, it is not so much that he feels it inwardly, as that he wishes to believe it. Because he sees that it would be good for him that there were no God, he strives by all means to persuade himself of it and induce himself to think so; and sets it up as a theme or position or dogma, which he studies to assert and maintain and establish..And so it is true the Atheist hath rather said in his heart than thinks in his heart that there is no God..Nor shall you see that those who are fallen into this phrensy to breathe and importunately inculcate anything else

almost, than speech tending to Atheism; as in Lucretius the Epicurean; who makes his invective against religion almost as the burthen or verse of return to every other subject. The reason appears to be that the Atheist, not being well satisfied in his own mind, tossing to and fro, distrustful of himself, and finding many times his opinion faint within him, desires to have it revived by the assent of others. For it is rightly said that *he who is very anxious to approve his opinion to another, himself distrusts it.*" (Works, VII. 251, 252, ed. Spedding.) There is besides another passage, on the tendency of the study of natural philosophy to Atheism, which is almost word for word the same with that at the beginning of the Essay. [9—21] It appeareth..themselves: added in 1625. [17] Lat. *Imo, quod monstri simile est.* [29] Diog. Laert. x. 123. [34] See Acosta, *Hist. Nat. des Indes*, v. fol. 212*b*. (Fr. trans. ed. 1600): "ils n'auoient point neantmoins de nom propre, pour nommer Dieu: car si nous voulons rechercher en langue des Indiens vn mot, qui responde à ce nom de Dieu, comme le latin *Deus*, le grec, *Theos*, l'hebreu, *El*, l'Arabic, *Alla*, l'on n'en trouuera aucun en langue de Cusco ny en langue de Mexicque."

p. 66 [4] In ed. of 1612, 'which shews yet they haue the motion, though not the full extent.' [7] very: added in 1625. [8] very: added in

tem humanam ut sit merus atheista dogmate; sed magni hypocritæ sunt veri atheistæ, qui sacra perpetuo contrectant, sed nunquam verentur. [9] "Some of the philosophers, and namely, *Diagoras* of the isle of *Melos*, *Theodorus* the Cyrenæan, and *Euemerus* of *Tegea*, held resolutely that there were no gods." Plutarch's *Morals*, trans. Holland, p. 810, ed. 1603. [23] S. Bernard. *Serm. ad Pastores* (*Opera*, p. 1732 I, ed. Paris 1640.) [25] Lat. *consuetudo profana ludendi et jocandi in rebus sanctis.*

p. 67 [5] who: 'which' (1612). [6] Ovid. *Met.* I. 21. [19] Cic. *de Har. Resp.* 9.

ESSAY 17

Enlarged from the edition of 1612, and omitted in the Italian translation. The chief points in this Essay and the preceding form the *pro* and *con* of *Antith.* XIII. *Superstitio.*

p. 68 [1] no: Lat. *nullam aut incertam.* In a letter to Mr Toby Matthews, Bacon says: "I entreat you much to meditate sometimes upon the effect of superstition in this last Powder Treason, fit to be tabled and pictured in the chambers of Meditation, as another Hell above the ground; and well justifying the censure of the Heathen, that *Superstition is far worse then Atheism*, by how much it is less evil to have no good opinion of God at all, then such as are impious towards his Divine Majesty and goodness" (*Cabala*, p. 57, ed. 1663). Mr, afterwards Sir Toby, Matthews, was a great friend of Bacon, and a convert to Romanism. The Essay 'Of Superstition' may have grown out of this letter. [2] Lat. *quam contumeliosam et Deo in-*

dignam. [4] Lat. *impietatis et opprobrii.* [5] the: omitted in ed. of 1612, but inserted in MS. [6—13] *Plutarch*..Men: added in 1625. [6] Plut. *de Superst.* x. [8] *at all;* Lat. *in rerum natura.* [10] Lat. *comedere et devorare.* [16] to: 'vnto' (1612). an outward Morall vertue: added in 1625. [18] Monarchy: 'Tyranny' (1612). [19] Mindes: 'minde' (1612). *Antith.* XIII; *Non Epicuri schola, sed Stoa, veteres respublicas perturbavit.* [20] Lat. *homines enim cautos reddit et securitati suæ consulentes.*

p. 69 [1] 'As the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, and our owne times in some Countries, were, and are, ciuill times' (1612). civil: Lat. *tranquilla.* [2] 'confusion and desolation' (1612). [3] *Primum Mobile:* see note on p. 56, l. 18. [8] Here followed in the ed. of 1612 the paragraph which was afterwards incorporated into the Essay 'Of Atheisme:' "There is no such Atheist, as an Hipocrite, or Impostor: and it is not possible, but where the generality is superstitious, many of the leaders are Hipocrits. The causes of *Atheisme* are, diuisions in Religion: scandall of Priests; and learned times; specially if prosperous; though for diuisions, any one maine diuision addeth zeale to both sides, but many diuisions introduce *Atheisme.*" [8—18] It was gravely said..Church: added in 1625. [11] Sarpi, *Hist. del. Conc. Trid.* p. 222, ed. 1619. "Fu da alcuni faceti detti, che so gli astrologi, non sapendo le vere cause de' moti celesti, per salvare le apparenze hanno dato in eccentrici, in epicicli non era maraviglia, se volendo salvare le apparenze de' moti sopra-celesti, si dava in eccentricità d' openioni." [19—29] 'the pleasing of Ceremonies; the excesse of outward holinesse; the reuerence of traditions: the stratagems of Prelats for their owne ambition and lucre, and barbarous times, specially with calamities, and disasters' (1612). [25] Conceits: Lat. *ethelothreskiis.* [26] Lat. *exemplorum importuna et inepta petitio ab humanis quæ in divina transferantur.* [27] Lat. *Fantasiarum male cohærentium mixturam.* [30] 'without his vaile' (1612).

p. 70 [2] petty: Lat. *pusillas et superfluas.* [3—9] added in 1625. [4] Lat. *cum se tanto saniorem et puriorem viam inire putent homines.* [6] Lat. *curæ esse debet in religione reformandâ.*

Essay 18

The Latin title is *De peregrinatione in partes exteras.*

p. 71 [7] Lat. *servo aliquo experto.* I allow well: Lat. *probo.* [11] Acquaintances: Lat. *amicitiæ et familiaritates.* [20] Lat. *quam quæ de industria observantur.*

p. 72 [12] Magazens: Lat. *cellæ et horrea publica.* [14] Lat. *militum delectus et instructio.* [21] Masques: Lat. *saltationes sub larvâ.*

p. 73 [5] Lat. *magnes est attrahendi familiaritates et consuetudines hominum complurium.* [18] Employd men: Lat. *ministrorum interiorum.* [23] Lat. *quomodo os, vultus, et corporis lineamenta, et motus respondeant famæ.* [26] Place: Lat. *præsidentia.* [27] Words: Lat. *verba contumeliosa.*

p. 74 [4] forwards: Lat. *facilis et pronus.*

ESSAY 19

Altered and greatly enlarged from ed. of 1612.

p. 75 [1] *Antith.* VIII; *Quam miserum habere nil fere quod appetas, infinita quæ metuas.* [9] Prov. xxv. 3. [10] Multitude: 'multitudes' (1612). [13] Lat. *exploratu difficilem.* [14] it comes: 'commeth it' (1612). [17] Lat. *ad ordinem aliquem aut collegium instituendum.* Erecting of: added in 1625. [20]—p. 76. [1] As *Nero*.. Chariots: added in 1625. *Nero:* see Dio Cass. LXIII. 1. [21] *Domitian:* Suet. *Dom.* 19. [22] *Commodus:* Dio Cass. LXXII. 10, 22.

p. 76 [1] *Caracalla:* Dio Cass. LXXVII. 10. [2] and the like: '& such like things' (1612). This seemeth; 'which seeme' (1612). [6—16] 'Therefore great and fortunate Conquerours in their first yeeres, turne melancholy and superstitious in their latter, as did *Alexander* the great, & in our memory *Charles* the fifth, and many others. For he that is vsed to goe forward, and findeth a stoppe, falleth out of his owne fauour' (1612). [12] "It is reported that King *Alexander* the Great, hearing *Anaxarchus* the Philosopher discoursing and maintaining this Position: That there were worlds innumerable: fell a weeping: and when his friends and familiars about him asked what he ailed. Have I not (quoth he) good cause to weepe, that being as there are an infinite number of worlds, I am not yet the Lord of one?" (Holland's Plutarch, p. 147, ed. 1603). Diocletian abdicated 1st May, 305, and passed the last eight years of his life in retirement near Salona. [13] Charles V. gave up the Netherlands to his son Philip II. 25th Oct. 1555; on the 16th of Jan. 1556 he gave up the throne of Spain, and on the 27th of Aug. 1556 resigned the Imperial crown. He died at Yuste, 21st Sep. 1558. [17, 18] 'A true temper of gouernment is a rare thing' (1612). [21] Philost. *vit. Apoll. Tyan.* v. 28. The story is told again in *Apoph.* 51. [27] *sometimes:* '*and sometimes*' (1612). [30] 'pressing power and relaxing power' (1612). [32] This is true that: added in 1625.

p. 77 [3] this..And: added in 1625. Lat. *in agone cum fortunâ experiri.* [6] Matter: Lat. *materias primas et inchoamenta.* [7] difficulties: 'difficultnesse' (1612). Lat. *interveniunt proculdubio multæ difficultates et impedimenta.* [8] and: 'times' (1612). [9] Lat. *principum ipsorum affectus et mores.* [10] Not Tacitus, but Sallust (*Bell. Jug.* c. 113). The passage is rightly referred to Sallust in the *Adv. of L.* II. 22, § 5: *Salust* noteth, that it is vsuall with Kinges to desire Contradictoryes." [13] Power: Lat. *potentiæ nimiæ.* Lat. *credere se posse finem rei pro arbitrio assequi.* [15]—p. 81 [8] *Kings* have to deale..Danger: added in 1625. [22] First for their *Neighbours*, &c. The original of this passage is to be found in the tract, published by Rawley after Bacon's death, entitled *Considerations touching a warre with Spaine*, and written about the year 1624. "And to say truth, if one marke it well, this was, in all Memory, the maine peece of Wisdome, in strong and prudent Counsels; To bee in perpetuall watch, that the *States* about them, should neither by Approach, nor by Encrease of Dominion, nor by Ruining

Confederates, nor by blocking of Trade, nor by any the like meanes, haue it in their power, to hurt or annoy the *States* they serue: And whensoeuer any such Cause did but appeare, straight-wayes to buy it out with a Warre, and neuer to take vp Peace at credit, and vpon Interest. It is so memorable, as it is yet as fresh, as if it were done yesterday, how that *Triumuirate* of *Kings* (*Henry* the eight of *England*, *Francis* the first of *France*, and *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, and King of *Spaine*,) were in their times so prouident, as scarce a Palme of Ground could bee gotten by either of the Three, but that the other Two would be sure to doe their best, to set the Ballance of *Europe* vpright againe. And the like diligence was vsed in the Age before, by that League, (wherewith *Guicciardine* beginneth his Story, and maketh it (as it were) the Kalender of the good dayes of *Italy*,) which was contracted betweene *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*, *Lorenzo of Medici* Potentate of *Florence*, and *Ludouico Zforza* Duke of *Milan*, designed chiefly against the growing Power of the *Venetians*; But yet so, as the Confederates had a perpetuall eye, one vpon another, that none of them should ouertop. To conclude therefore, howsoeuer some *Schoolemen*, (otherwise Reuerend Men, yet fitter to guide Pen-kniues, than Swords,) seeme precisely to stand vpon it; That euery *Offensiue Warre* must be *Vltio*; A *Reuenge*, that presupposeth a precedent Assault or Iniurie; yet neither doe they descend to this Point, (which we now handle,) of a *iust Feare*; Neither are they of authority to iudge this Question against all the Presidents of time." Pp. 19, 20, ed. 1629. [33] Lat. *Carolo quinto Hispano.*

p. 78 [3, 4] either..Warre: omitted in the Latin. [5] take up: Lat. *redimere.* [6] Guicciardini, *Hist.* I. I. The League was renewed in 1480 for 25 years. [12] Bacon probably refers to S. Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologiæ*, 2^2, quæst. XL). "*Secundo requiritur causa justa; ut scilicet illi qui impugnantur, propter aliquam culpam impugnationem mereantur: unde Aug. dicit in lib. quæstionum* (*super Josue quæst.* 10) *Justa bella solent diffiniri quæ ulciscuntur injurias, si gens vel civitas plectenda est, quæ vel vindicare neglexerit quod a suis improbe factum est, vel reddere quod per injuriam ablatum est.*" [14] The first proposition of Bacon's argument for a War with Spain was, "that a *iust Feare is a iust Cause of a War*; And that a *Preuentiue Warre is a true Defensiue*" (p. 23). [15] lawfull; Lat. *competens et legitima.* [18] *Livia:* Dio Cass. LVI. 30. Lat. *ob veneficium Augusti.*

p. 79 [25] Lat. *quorum baculi pastorales cum regis gladio concertarunt.* [30] from that *State:* i. e. the Clergy; Lat. *a prælatis.* [31] Lat. *nisi ubi clerus ab auctoritate aut jurisdictione principatus externi pendet.* [32] come in, and: omitted in the Latin. Lat. *a populo, non autem a rege vel patronis ecclesiarum.*

p. 80 [1] Lat. *sunt illi certe cohibendi et tanquam in justâ distantiâ a solio regali continendi.* [5] *Hist. of Hen.* 7, p. 241, ed. 1622; "Hee kept a strait hand on his Nobilitie, and chose rather to aduance Clergie-men and Lawyers, which were more Obsequious to him, but had lesse Interest in the People; which made for his Absoluteness.

but not for his Safetie. In so much as (I am perswaded) it was one of the Causes of his troublesome Raigne; for that his Nobles, though they were Loyall and Obedient, yet did not Co-operate with him, but let euery man goe his owne Way." [16] Lat. *quinimo fovendi sunt, tanquam qui potentiam nobilitatis superioris optime temperent, ne immodice excrescat.* [21] *Vena porta:* "That *vena porta* is a vein coming from the concave of the liver, and receiving those mesaraical veins, by whom he takes the *chylus* from the stomach and guts, and conveys it to the liver." Burton, *Anat. of Mel.* pt. I. sect. I, mem. 2, subs. 3. See Ess. XLI. In another passage (*Hist. of Hen.* 7, p. 161) Bacon calls it 'the Gate-Vaine': "But that that mooued him most, was, that beeing a King that loued Wealth and Treasure, hee could not endure to haue *Trade* sicke, nor any Obstruction to continue in the *Gate-vaine*, which disperseth that bloud." [24] and nourish little: Lat. *et habitum corporis macrum.* [26—29] Lat. *quod in partibus lucretur, in summâ deperdit, commercii quanto diminutq.* [33] Or their Customes: Lat. *vel in gravaminibus tributorum.* [34] Lat. *vel in aliis quæ victum eorum decurtant.*

p. 81 [2] Lat. *si in corpus unum cogantur, vel exercitus vel præsidiorum.* [3] Lat. *clarissima exempla.* [5] of *Rome:* omitted in the Latin. [7] of Defence: Lat. *utiles et salubres.* [9] *Antith.* VIII; *Reges non hominum instar sed astrorum sunt; nam et in singulos et in tempora ipsa magnum habent influxum.* 'the heauenly bodies' (1612). [10] *Antith.* VIII; *Qui in imperiis sunt, similes sunt corporibus cœlestibus, quæ magnam venerationem habent, requiem nullam.* The original of this is a passage of Seneca, *Consol. ad Polyb.* c. 26 (*Dial.* XI. 7); *ex quo se Cæsar orbi terrarum dedicavit, sibi eripuit. Et siderum modo, quæ inrequieta semper cursus suos explicant, nunquam illi licet nec subsistere nec quicquam suum facere.* [11—14] In the MS. of the edition of 1612 this passage, with the exception of the words 'or *Vice Dei*,' is inserted in the margin in Bacon's own hand. [15] bridleth: 'to bridle' (1612).

Essay 20

Altered and slightly enlarged from ed. of 1612.

p. 82 [1] and Man: omitted in the printed ed. of 1612, but added in the MS. [4] Child: Lat. *liberos.* Some copies have 'children,' and in the Italian it is *i loro figliuoli*, but 'child' is the reading in the edition of 1612. [7] obliged: Lat. *astringuntur.* [11] Lat. *si consilio virorum selectorum utantur.* [13] Is. ix. 6. [14] Prov. xx. 18. [18] Lat. *inconstantiæ et mutationum.* [19] Lat. *modo texendæ, modo retexendæ.* [20] 1 Kings xii. 8.

p. 83 [10] See *de Sap. Vet.* c. 30. [12] Whereby they intend that: 'so as' (1612). [14] Lat. *quod hujusmodi commentum est.* [19] himselfe: added in 1625. [20] Hes. *Theog.* 886. [22] *Councell:* 'counsell' (1612). [24] unto: 'to' (1612). [25] Lat. *elaboratæ et efformatæ.* [28] *Councell:* 'counsel' (1612). [31] 'hand' (1612).

p. 84 [5, 6] Let us..*Remedies:* added in 1625. [11] Lat. *ac si minus*

ex re penderent. [14] Lat. *quam principis ipsius.* [15] Lat. *doctrina quorundam ex Italis.* [16] in some Kings times: added in 1625. [17] Lat. *consilia interiora quæ vulgo vocantur cabinetti.* [18] The MS. adds, "which hath tourned *Metis* the wife to *Metis* the mistresse, that is Councells of State to which Princes are [solemly] marryed, to Councells of gracious persons recommended chiefly by [flattery and] affection." Mr Spedding in his note (Bacon's Works, VI. p. 555) remarks, "The word 'solemly' has a line drawn through it, and the words 'flattery and' are inserted between the lines in Bacon's hand." [19] As to: 'But for' (1612). Lat. *occultationem consiliorum.* [21] Lat. *sed tam personas quam negotia cum delectu excerpere possunt.* [25] comes: 'come' (1612). [26] *Motto: 'Mot'* (1612). *Counsels:* 'counsell' (1612). [27] Ter. *Eun.* I. 2, 25. [28] Lat. *arcana nosse et retegere.* [30—85 9] It is true—*Fox:* added in 1625.

p. 85 [3] able to Grinde with a *Hand-Mill:* Lat. *proprio Marte validus.* [6] *Hist. of Hen.* 7, pp. 15, 16; "About this time, the King called vnto his *Priuie-Councell,* Iohn Morton, and Richard Foxe, the one *Bishop* of *Elie,* the other *Bishop* of *Excester,* vigilant men, and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost vpon al men else." [11—13] Nay ..Counsell: added in 1625. [17, 18] which are Things soone found, and holpen: added in 1625. [20] Lat. *suæ rei prospecturos non domini.* [21] Luke xviii. 8. [27] *Counsellours:* 'counsels' (1612). [28] *Counsellour:* added in 1625. [29—31] So that..Eare: added in 1625. [34] Mart. *Epig.* VIII. 15.

p. 86 [1] on: 'of' (1612). [2] Speculative: Lat. *rimatores.* [4] their: so in the original and in ed. of 1612. [10] Reverend: 'reuerent' (1612). Lat. *gravior.* [15] to preserve Freedome: omitted in MS. [16] to preserve Respect: omitted in MS. Lat. *ut modestius sententiam ferant.* [24—28] 'what kind of person should be; but in *indiuiduo:* For the greatest errors, and the greatest iudgement are shewed in the choice of *Indiuiduals*' (1612). In the MS. the Essay ends here. [28] A saying of Alphonso of Aragon. *Optimos consiliarios esse mortuos dicebat, libros, videlicet, designans, a quibus sine metu, sine gratiâ, quæ nosse cuperet fideliter audiret.* Alphonsi regis dict. et fact. lib. 3, c. 1, auct. Ant. Panormita. See also *Apoph.* 105; "Alonso of Aragon was wont to say of himself, *That he was a great necromancer, for that he used to ask counsel of the dead:* meaning books." The origin of the saying is to be sought at a still more remote period. Zeno, the Stoic, enquired of the oracle by what course of conduct he should live the best life. The god replied, εἰ συγχρωτίζοιτο τοῖς νεκροῖς (Diog. Laert. VII. 1, § 3). [29] Lat. *cum consiliarii forte in adulationem lapsuri sint.* [32] Lat. *qui et ipsi gubernacula rerum tractarunt.* [34—88 8] The *Counsels.. Placebo:* added in 1625.

p. 87 [1] Lat. *congressus et colloquia familiaria.* [6] ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή, Gaisford, *Par. Gr.* B. 359. [10] Lat. *petitiones privatas.* [13] *Hoc agere.* The phrase is explained in Plutarch's *Coriol.* p. 249 (North's trans.); "But hereby appeareth plainely, how king *Numa* did wisely

ordaine all other ceremonies concerning deuotion to the goddes, and specially this custome which he stablished, to bring the people to religion. For when the magistrates, bishoppes, priestes, or other religious ministers goe about any deuine seruice, or matter of religion, an herauld euer goeth before them, crying out aloud, *Hoc age:* as to say, doe this, or mind this." [15] Indifferent persons: Lat. *qui æqui sunt et in neutram partem propendeant.* [18] Lat. *delegationes non tantum temporaneas aut e re natâ sed etiam continuatas et perpetuas.* The Latin adds *quæ curent separatim.* [19] Suits: Lat. *gratias, gravamina.* [20] Lat. *consilia subordinata diversa.* [26] The Latin adds, *mercatoribus, artificibus.* [32] Lat. *ad parietes cameræ consilii.*

p. 88 [6] Lat. *se ad nutum ejus applicabunt.* [8] a Song of *Placebo:* the Vesper hymn for the dead. "Pope Sixtus's Breviary says, 'ad vesperas, *absolutè* incipitur ab Antiphonâ *placebo Domino in regione vivorum.*'" (Nares' *Glossary*, s. v.) Chaucer (*Persones Tale*) has, "Flaterers ben the develes chapeleyns, that singen ay *placebo.*"

Bacon followed the advice which he himself gave. At the conclusion of his speech for the Naturalization of the Scottish Nation, he said; "Mr Speaker, I haue (I take it) gone through the parts which I propounded to my selfe, wherein if any man shall think I have sung a *placebo*, for mine owne particular; I would haue him know that I am not so unseene in the world, but that I discerne, it were much alike for my priuate fortune a *tacebo*, as to sing a *placebo* in this businesse: but I haue spoken out of the fountain of my heart."

Essay 21

p. 89 [3] *Antith.* XLI; *Occasio, instar Sibyllæ, minuit oblatum, pretium auget.* [4] *Sybilla:* the story is told by Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* I. 19. [6] Lat. *integrum tamen pretium postulat.* Adagia, p. 687, ed. Grynæus: *Fronte capillata est, post hæc occasio calva.* See also Phædrus, v. 8, and Posidippi *Epigr.* 13 in Brunck's *Anthologia* II. 49. [9] *Antith.* XLI; *Occasio primum ansam vasis porrigit, deinde ventrem.* [14] *Antith.* XLIII; *Non jam leve est periculum, si leve videatur.* [15] ibid. *Plura pericula fallunt, quam vincunt.*

p. 90 [2] ibid. *Docet periculum progredi qui accingitur, et periculum fingit remedio.* [8] *Argos:* Æsch. *Prom.* 567, *&c.* *Briareus:* Hom. *Il.* I. 403. *Antith.* XLI. The *Helmet* of *Pluto:* Hom. *Il.* V. 845. See *de Sap. Vet.* c. VII. Perseus in the fable wore the helmet of Pluto when he slew the Gorgon Medusa. See the same fable enlarged in the *De Augmentis*, II. 13. A note in the *Promus*, fol. 15 *b*, is: "Plutoes Helmett—Secresy Invisibility."

Essay 22

Greatly enlarged from the ed. of 1612.

p. 91 [8] In the *Promus* of Formularies and Elegancies (Works VII. 197 ed. Spedding) occurs this note, descriptive of the characters of some men; "Cunning in the humours of persons, and not in the conditions

of actions." [9] Lat. *personarum naturas et mores.* [11] Lat. *in personarum aditibus et temporibus.* [13] Lat. *constitutio ipsissima.* [13] of one: Lat. *hominum.* [16] I suppose the figure is taken from the game of bowls. Under the head of "*Bowl-Alley*, or *Bowling-Alley*," Nares (*Glossary*) gives "a covered space for the game of bowls, instead of a bowling-green." He quotes, "whether it be in open wide places, or in close *alleys*,—the chusing of the bowle is the greatest cunning." *Country Contentm. G. Markham*, p. 58. The Latin translator seems to have missed the point. He renders, *et non aliter fere usum sui præbent quam in viis quas sæpe contriverunt*, understanding *alley* in its ordinary sense, and applied metaphorically to a narrow walk of life. [19] A saying of Aristippus; Diog. Laert. II. 73, εἰς ἀγνῶτας τοὺς δύο γυμνοὺς ἀπόστειλον καὶ εἴσῃ. It is quoted again, *Apoph.* 255. [20]—95 [14] And because..looked backe: added in 1625.

p. 92 [1] *Adv. of L.* II. 9, § 2. "And therefore a number of subtile persons, whose eyes doe dwell vpon the faces and fashions of men; doe well know the aduantage of this obseruation; as being most part of their abilitie; neither can it bee denied, but that it is a great discouerie of dissimulations, and a great direction in Businesse." [5] Sometimes: Lat. *per vices.* [8] Lat. *ut cum aliquid propere et facile obtinere et expedire cupias.* [12] Lat. *ad objectiones et scrupulos.* [16] Lat. *de rebus status gravioribus sermones.* [21] he doubts: omitted in the Latin. [26] Lat. *quasi se ipsum deprehenderet et contineret.* [32] Lat. *insolitum induere vultum.*

p. 93 [1] Lat. *quid sibi velit ista oris mutatio.* [2] Neh. ii. 1. [10] Tac. *Ann.* XI. 30. [12] Lat. *non inutile est.* [17] Lat. *ut rem fere prætermissam.* [30] Lat. *astutiæ species satis vafra est.* [32] Lat. *ut inde alterum irretiat et subruat.* [33] Mr Spedding has suggested to me that probably the two competitors for the office of Secretary, here alluded to, were Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Thomas Bodley.

p. 94 [1] Lat. *qui tamen se invicem amice tractabant.* [6] Lat. *seque illud genus hominum minime ambire.* [7] Lat. *verba illa callide prolata bona fide arripuit.* [11] The Latin adds, *tanquam scilicet ab altero prolata.* [12] The Latin adds *cum ipsa se vigentem reputaret.* [16] Various explanations of this proverb have been given; among others that by Mr Singer in his edition of the Essays, suggested by a writer in the Gentleman's Mag. 1754, p. 66. "It was originally, no doubt, '*Cate* in the pan,' but thus popularly corrupted. The allusion is probably to the dexterous turning or *shifting the side* of a *pancake* by a sleight of hand familiar to cooks." The Latin translator was clearly at a loss for the meaning when he wrote *quod Anglico proverbio* Felem in aheno vertere *satis absurde dicitur.* It appears to have been a common saying. Nares (*Glossary*, s. v.) quotes the following:

> Damon smatters as well as he can of craftie phylosophie,
> And can *tourne cat in the panne* very pretily.
>
> *Damon and Pith.* O. Pl. I 193.

And again from the famous song of the Vicar of Bray, in which *a cat-in-pan* appears to be synonymous with turncoat:

When George in pudding-time came o'er,
And moderate men look'd big, Sir,
I turn'd a *cat-in-pan* once more,
And so became a Whig, Sir.

[16] Lat. *cum ea verba, quæ quis apud alium profert, imputat colloquenti, tanquam ab ipso prolata.* [22] Lat. *ut quis in alios spicula quædam oblique torqueat.* [25] Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 57. [31] Lat. *unde et se magis in tuto continent, quasi nihil diserte affirmantes, et rem ipsam majore cum voluptate spargi efficiunt.*

p. 95 [9] sudden: omitted in the Latin. [12] *Pauls:* "The body of old St Paul's church in London, was a constant place of resort for business and amusement. Advertisements were fixed up there, bargains made, servants hired, politics discussed, &c. &c." Nares, *Gloss.* s. v. Frequent allusions are made to it by Shakspere and the dramatists of his time. [15—19] Altered from the edition of 1612, where this paragraph stands last; "Very many are the differences betweene cunning and wisdome: and it were a good deed to set them downe; for that nothing doth more hurte in state then that cunning men passe for wise." [17] Lat. *uberiorem catalogum.* [20] But, certainly, some there are: 'Euen in businesse there are some' (1612). [21] Resorts and Falls: Lat. *periodos et pausas.* Ital. *le riuscite, et le cadute.* The word 'resort' appears to be used in the same sense in *Adv. of L.* II. 2, § 4; "But such beeing the workemanship of God, as he doth hang the greatest waight vpon the smallest Wyars, *Maxima è Minimis suspendens*, it comes therfore to passe, that such Histories doe rather set forth the pompe of busines, then the true and inward *resorts* thereof." In the corresponding passage of the *De Augmentis*, II. 7, the last clause is given *quam eorum veros fomites et texturas subtiliores.* The same sentiment as is expressed in the Essay occurs again in the *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 30: "If we obserue, we shall find two differing kinds of sufficiency, in managing of businesse: some can make vse of occasions aptly and dexterously, but plotte little: some can vrge and pursue their owne plottes well, but cannot accommodate nor take in: either of which is very vnperfite without the other." [22] the Maine: Lat. *viscera et interiora.* [25] Looses: Lat. *exitus.* Lat. *in conclusionibus deliberatorum.* [27—29] Lat. *ex hac re existimationem quandam aucupantur, veluti ingenia quæ ad decernendum potius quam ad disputandum sint aptiora.* [29] In his "Observations upon a Libell published in anno 1592" (*Resuscitatio*, p. 145, ed. 1657), Bacon describes his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, as "one that was of the mind, that a Man, in his private Proceedings and Estate, and in the Proceedings of State, should rest upon the Soundnesse and Strength of his own Courses, and not upon Practise to Circumvent others; according to the *Sentence* of *Salomon;* Vir Prudens advertit ad Gressus suos, stultus autem divertit ad Dolos." 'vpon abusing others' (1612). [32] Prov. xiv. 15.

Essay 23

p. 96 [1] Comp. *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 8; "For many are wise in their owne ways, that are weak for gouernmente or Counsell, like Ants which is a wise creature for it self, but very hurtefull for the garden." [2] Orchard : omitted in the Latin. [6] *Society:* Lat. *amorem reipublicæ.* [7] Specially to thy King, and Country : added in 1625. [8] *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 8: Of the Science of government Bacon says, "But yet there is another part of this part, which differeth as much from that wherof we haue spoken as *sapere*, & *sibi Sapere:* the one moouing as it were to the circumference, the other to the centei : for there is a wisedome of counsell, and againe there is a wisedome of pressing a mans owne fortune; and they doe sometimes meet, and often seuere." [10] *Himselfe:* Lat. *commodum proprium.* [15] onely : added in 1625. [19] Affaires : Lat. *negotia publica.* [20] Hands : 'hand' (1612).

p. 97 [1] Lat. *ministros et servos qui hac nota non maculantur.* [4] 'And that' (1612). [8] Servant: 'seruants' (1612). [10—16] 'And yet that is the case; for the good &c.' (1612). [12] Lat. *servos et ministros.* [14] and Envies : omitted in the Latin. [22] Egges: 'egge' in the MS. of ed. of 1612. [26] Affaires : in the ed. of 1612 the Essay ends here.

p. 98 [2] Cic. *ad Quint. Frat.* III. 8. [5] Lat. *in exitu sacrificant inconstantiæ fortunæ.* [7] Lat. *pulchra illa sapientia sua.*

Essay 24

This Essay is little more than a translation of *Antith.* XL.

p. 99 [1] *Antith.* XL; *novi partus deformes sunt.* [4] ibid. *Sicut qui nobilitatem in familiam introducunt digniores fere sunt posteris; ita novationes rerum plerumque præstant iis quæ ad exempla fiunt.* [6] Lat. *Ita rerum exemplaria et primordia (quando feliciter jacta sunt) imitationem ætatis sequentis, ut plurimum, superant.* [10] Lat. *ut fieri amat in violentis motibus.* [11] *Antith.* XL; *Omnis medicina innovatio. Qui nova remedia fugit, nova mala opperitur. Novator maximus tempus; quidni igitur tempus imitemur? Cum per se res mutentur in deterius, si consilio in melius non mutentur, quis finis erit mali? Quæ usu obtinere, si non bona, at saltem apta inter se sunt.* [14] of course : Lat. *decursu solo.* [17] Lat. *finis mali.* [18] Lat. *aptum esse tamen temporibus.* [21] Lat. *ubi contra nova veteribus non usquequaque tam concinne cohæreant.* From the expression which Bacon makes use of in the *Antitheta*, *nulla novitas absque injuria, nam præsentia convellit*, he had probably in his mind Matt. ix. 16.

p. 100 [2] Lat. *tanquam advenæ aut peregrini.* [4] Lat. *in orbem agitatur.* Froward: Lat. *importuna et morosa.* *Antith.* XL; *Morosa morum retentio res turbulenta est, æque ac novitas. Moris servi, temporis ludibria. Quis novator tempus imitatur; quod novationes ita insinuat, ut sensus fallant? Quod præter spem evenit*

cui prodest minus acceptum, cui obest magis molestum. [12] For otherwise: Lat. *Illud enim pro certo habeas.* [14] Lat. *cui incrementum est novitas, ille fortunæ gratias habet et tempori.* [17] Lat. *experimentis novis in corporibus politicis medendis non uti.* [24—27] Quoted again in *Adv. of L.* I. 5, § 2.

Essay 25

Slightly altered and enlarged from the ed. of 1612.

p. 101 [1] Lat. *celeritas nimia et affectata.* [8—12] And as in Races ..*Dispatch:* added in 1625. [10] After 'Speed' the Latin adds, *sed in motu eorundem humiliore et æquabili.* [13] Lat. *ut brevi tempore multum confecisse videantur.* [16] Abbreviate: 'make shorte' (1612); Lat. *tempori parcere.* [18—20] at severall..Manner: 'by peeces, is commonly protracted in the whole' (1612). [20] Sir Amyas Paulet, with whom Bacon went to France in 1576: see *Apoph.* 76. In Howell's *Familiar Letters* (Vol. II. lett. 17) the saying is attributed to Sir Francis Walsingham. that: added in 1625.

p. 102 [1] rich: Lat. *pretiosa.* [4] at a deare Hand: Lat. *magno.* [5—8] The *Spartans*..comming: added in 1625. The *Spartans:* comp. Thuc. I. 70, 84. and *Spaniards:* see Bacon's "Report in the House of Commons of the Earl of Salisburies and the Earle of Northampton's Speeches" (*Resuscitatio*, p. 32, ed. 1657). [14] 'backwards' (1612). [14—16] 'and be more tedious by parcels, then he could haue bin at once' (1612). [18] Actor: Lat. *oratorem.* [24] Lat. *toga prælonga terram verrens.* [25] Lat. *transitiones bellæ.* [29] Lat. *gloriolæ captatrices.* Lat. *cave ne in rem ipsam ab initio descendas.* [30] Wils: 'will' (1612), but the MS. has 'wills.' [32] of Minde: added in 1625. of Speech: added in 1625. [33] Lat. *instar fomentationis ante unguentum.*

p. 103 [1] and *Singling* out of *Parts:* added in 1625. [17] See *Nat. Hist.* cent. VI. exp. 597.

Essay 26

Slightly enlarged and altered from ed. 1612.

p. 104 [6] 2 Tim. iii. 5. [8] Lat. *qui nugantur solenniter, cum prudentes minime sint.* [9] Ter. *Heaut.* III. 5, 8. [11] Lat. *affectationes istas videre in quot formas se vertant, et quali utantur arte quasi prospectivâ.* [12] Prospectives: 'perspectiues' (1612). [14] Close and Reserved: Lat. *secreti.* [16] Lat. *et videri volunt plus significare quam loqui.* [20] well: Lat. *tuto.*

p. 105 [2] Cic. *in Pis.* 6. [4] think to beare it: Lat. *se valere putant.* [5] 'and will goe on' (1612). [6] Lat. *pro admissis accipiunt.* [8] 'they will seeme to despise' (1612). [10] Lat. *judicio limato.* [13] Not Aulus Gellius but Quintilian (x. 1), who says of Seneca, *si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum quam puerorum amore comprobaretur.* It is quoted again in the *Adv. of L.* I. 4, § 5. *A. Gellius:* '*Gellius*' (1612). [15] Plat. *Protag.* 337. [19] Lat. *negativæ libenter se applicant.* [21] Lat.

ex scrupulis et difficultatibus proponendis et prædicendis. [26) Lat. *decoctor rei familiaris occultus.* [29—34] *Seeming Wise-men.... Formall*: added in 1625. [30] Lat. *opinionem vulgi.* [33] Lat. *quam hujusmodi formalistam fastidiosum.*

ESSAY 27

Entirely rewritten from the ed. of 1612, where it stands thus: "There is no greater desert or wildernes then to bee without true friends. For without friendship, society is but meeting. And as it is certaine, that in bodies inanimate, vnion strengthneth any naturall motion, and weakeneth any violent motion; So amongst men, friendship multiplieth ioies, and diuideth griefes. Therefore whosoeuer wanteth fortitude, let him worshippe *Friendship*. For the yoke of *Friendship* maketh the yoke of *fortune* more light. There bee some whose liues are, as if they perpetually plaid vpon a stage, disguised to all others, open onely to themselues. But perpetuall dissimulation is painfull: and hee that is all *Fortune*, and no Nature is an exquisit *Hierling*. Liue not in continuall smother, but take some friends with whom to communicate. It will vnfold thy vnderstanding; it will euaporate thy affections; it will prepare thy businesse. A man may keepe a corner of his minde from his friend, and it be but to witnesse to himselfe, that it is no vpon facility, but vpon true vse of friendship that hee imparteth himselfe. Want of true friends, as it is the reward of perfidious natures; so is it an imposition vpon great fortunes. The one deserue it, the other cannot scape it. And therefore it is good to retaine sincerity, and to put it into the reckoning of *Ambition*, that the higher one goeth, the fewer true friends he shall haue. Perfection of friendship, is but a speculation. It is friendship, when a man can say to himselfe, I loue this man without respect of vtility. I am open hearted to him, I single him from the generality of those with whom I liue; I make him a portion of my owne wishes."

p. 106 [3] Arist. *Pol.* I. I. [10] it: Lat. *hujusmodi vita solitaria.* [12] Lat. *altioribus contemplationibus.* [21] Lat. *nihilo plus sunt quam in porticibus picturæ.*

p. 107 [2] Adagia, p. 506. A comic poet quoted by Strabo XVI. p. 738, punning upon the name of Megalopolis, a town of Arcadia, said ἐρημία μεγάλη 'στιν ἡ μεγάλη πόλις. Strabo applies it to Babylon. Entered in the Promus, fol. 7 *a*. [3] Lat. *Amici et necessarii.* [16] Lat. *animæ perturbationes.* doe cause and induce: Lat. *imprimere solent.* [19] Lat. *in ægritudinibus animæ.* [25] The Latin adds *curas.* [27] Lat. *tanquam sub sigillo confessionis civilis.* [33] Lat. *distantiam et sublimitatem.*

p. 108 [6] Lat. *nomine gratiosorum vel amicorum regis.* [10] Tiberius called Sejanus, κοινωνὸν τῶν φροντίδων (Dio Cass. LVIII. 4), or *socium laborum*, as Tacitus has it (*Ann.* IV. 2). [28] Plutarch, *Pomp.* 14. Quoted in *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 5. [30] Lat. *ut eum Cæsar Octavio suo nepoti hæredem substituerit.* [33] Lat. *qui Cæsarem ad mortem suam pertraxit.* [34] Plutarch, *Jul. Cæs.* 64.

p. 109 [2] The Latin adds *uxoris suæ*. [4] Lat. *sperare se eum senatum non tam parvi habiturum, ut dimittere illum vellet donec uxor somnium melius somniasset.* [8] Cic. *Phil.* XIII. 11. [10] Dio Cass. LIV. 6. [20] Tac. *Ann.* IV. 40. [22] Tac. *Ann.* IV. 74. [24] Lat. *similis aut etiam illâ majoris amicitiæ exemplum cernitur.* [25] *Plautianus:* the ed. of 1625, and the Latin have *Plantianus.* [30] Dio Cass. LXXV. 15.

p. 110 [6] Lat. *nisi per hasce amicitias facta fuisset integra et perfecta.* [11] Hist. of Philip de Commines, trans. Danett, v. 5, p. 164 (ed. 1596). [21] closenesse: Lat. *occultatio consiliorum.* [22] μὴ ἐσθίειν καρδίαν, a proverb of Pythagoras quoted by Plutarch (*de educ. puer.* c. 17). In Athenæus it is attributed to Demetrius Byzantius (Adagia, p. 441). See Diog. Laert. VIII. 17, 18. [25] Lat. *quibus cogitationes suas et anxietates libere impertiant.*

p. 111 [4] Paracelsi *Opera*, VI. 313, ed. Francof. 1605. *Si lapis ille ex materia convenienti et philosophicâ ratione a prudenti medico fiat, et consideratis satis omnibus circumstantiis hominis ipsi exhibeatur, tunc renovat et instaurat organa vitæ perinde ac si igni apponatur ligna, quæ pene emortuum ignem refocillant, et causa sunt splendentis et claræ flammæ.* [5] Good, and: omitted in the Latin. [6] Lat. *absque auxilio notionum chymicarum.* [8] Lat. *in rebus naturalibus.* [24] Lat. *clarescere veluti in diem.* [26] Lat. *agitat et in omnes partes versat.* [31] Plutarch, *Them.* 29.

p. 112 [16] ψυχὴ ξηρὴ σοφωτάτη, quoted by Galen. See Adagia, p. 268, and Spedding's Bacon, III. 267, note. It occurs again in *de Sap. Vet.* c. 27, and *Apoph.* 258: "Heraclitus the Obscure said; *The dry light was the best soul.* Meaning, when the faculties intellectual are in vigour, not wet, nor, as it were, blooded by the affections." [26] See note on p. 37, l. 12.

p. 113 [4] The Latin adds *tanquam in speculo, aliquando, ut fit etiam in speculis.* [12] Jam. i. 23. [14] Lat. *Quantum ad negotia, vetus est; Melius videre oculos quam oculum; licet nonnulli hoc cavillentur. Etiam recte dicitur, &c.* [17—19] Or that.. Letters: omitted in the Latin. [21—24] Lat. *etsi quidam tam altum sapiant, ut putent in sese esse omnia. Verum quicquid dici possit in contrarium certum est, consilium negotia dirigere et stabilire.*

p. 114 [1] Lat. *consilia illa a diversis manantia (licet cum fide et bona intentione præstita).* [14] Lat. *consiliis istis dispersis (ut jam dictum).* [26] Lat. *non per hyperbolem sed sobrie dictum esse ab antiquis.* [27] In Diog. Laert. VII. 1, § 23 it is put in the mouth of Zeno Citticus; ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστι φίλος, ἄλλος ἐγώ, ἔφη. It occurs again in Arist. *Magn. Mor.* II. 15; *Eth. Eud.* VII. 12. [28] Lat. *quando quidem, si quis vere rem reputat, amici officia proprias cujusque vires superent.* [30] Lat. *in medio operum aliquorum.* [31] Lat. *in collocatione filii in matrimonium, consummatione conatuum et desideriorum suorum.*

p. 115 [1] Lat. *adeo ut fatum immaturum vix obsit.* as it were: Lat. *ut loquamur more tribulum aut firmariorum.* [5, 6] For.... *Frend:* omitted in the Latin. [13] Lat. *ad quæ erubescimus.*

[18] upon Termes: Lat. *salvâ dignitate.* [23] The Latin adds *in fabulâ.*

ESSAY 28

First published in the edition of 1597, enlarged in 1612, where it is called 'Of Expences,' and again in 1625.

p. 116 [4] Lat. *spontanea paupertas.* [12—15] Certainly..Part: added in 1625. [12] Lat. *qui diminutionem fortunarum suarum pati nolit.* [17] *Estate:* 'estates' (1612). [20] Wounds cannot be Cured without searching: printed as a quotation in 1597. [22] at all: added in 1612, but omitted in MS.

p. 117 [2] In the printed ed. of 1597 this clause stands, 'yea and change them after;' but the MS. which I have printed in the Appendix has the correct reading. [3—5] He..Certainties; added in ed. of 1612, except that for 'it behoveth him to' the reading of that edition was 'had neede.' The sentence is omitted in MS. [4] Lat. *eum quæ computationi subjacent, in certos reditus atque etiam sumptus vertere convenit.* [5—12] A Man..Decay: added in 1625. [12] Lat. *in perplexâ et obæratâ re familiari liberandâ.* [16—21] Besides.... Estate: added in 1612, but omitted in MS. [21] Certainly, who: 'He that' (1597).

ESSAY 29

Greatly altered and enlarged from the ed. of 1612. In its present form, though in a Latin dress, it was incorporated in the *De Augmentis*, VIII. 3. The Latin translation is said to have been by Hobbes of Malmesbury. In the ed. of 1612 the title of the Essay is 'Of the greatnesse of Kingdomes," and in the Latin translation, *De proferendis imperii finibus.* The beginning of the Essay seems to have been the discourse "Of the true greatness of the kingdom of Britain," written in 1608, which was never completed, but was turned into a general treatise "Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates."

p. 118 [1]—p. 119 [7] The Speech..serve: greatly altered from ed. of 1612, where it stood thus: "The speech of *Themistocles*, which was arrogant in challenge, is profitable in censure. Desired at a banquet to touch a Lute, hee said, *Hee could not fiddle; but he could make a small Towne to become a great Citie.* This speech at a time of solace, and not serious, was vnciuill, and at no time could be decent of a mans selfe. But it may haue a pretie application: For to speake truly of politikes & Statesmen, there are sometimes, though rarely, those that can make a small estate great, and cannot fiddell. And there bee many that can fiddell very cunningly, and yet the procedure of their Art is to make a flourishing estate ruinous & distressed. For certainly those degenerate Arts, whereby diuers politikes and Gouernors doe gaine both satisfaction with their Masters, and admiration with the vulgar, deserue no better name then fidling; if they adde nothing to the safetie, strength, and amplitude of the States they gouerne." [6] Plutarch, *Them.* 2: *Cimon*, 9; *Adv. of L.* I. 3, § 7. [8] holpen a little with a Metaphore: Lat. *ad sensum politicum translata.*

[9] expresse: Lat. *optime describunt et distinguunt.* differing; Lat. *multum inter se discrepantes.* [11] Statesmen: Lat. *senatores aliosque ad negotia publica admotos, qui usquam fuerunt.* [15] fiddle very cunningly; Lat. *in citharâ aut lyrâ* (*hoc est aulicis tricis*) *mire artifices.*

p. 119 [8] Governours: the Latin adds *minime spernendi.* [9] Tac. *Ann.* VI. 39, XVI. 18. Mannage: a metaphor from horsemanship. See *Adv. of L.* II. 20, § 11; So as *Diogenes* opinion is to be accepted, who Commended not them which absteyned, but them which sustayned, and could refraine their Mind in *Precipitio*, and could giue vnto the mind (as is vsed in horsmanship) the shortest stop or turne." [13] in Power, Meanes, and Fortune: omitted in the Latin. [20] vaine: Lat. *vanis et nimis arduis.* [24] 'The greatnes of a State in bulke or territory' (1612). [29] by Cards and Maps: Lat. *tabulis.* Cards: 'Carts' (1612). [30] not any Thing amongst: 'nothing among' (1612). [33] Power and Forces: 'greatnes' (1612). [33] After "Estate," the ed. of 1612 adds; "Certainly there is a kind of resemblance betweene the Kingdome of heauen, and the Kingdomes vpon the earth." The same figure is employed by Bacon in his speech on the Naturalization of the Scottish Nation, 17 Feb. 1606—7, and in the discourse "Of the true Greatness of the Kingdom of Britain" written in 1608. See Bacon's *Works*, VII. pp. 40, 49, ed. Spedding.

p. 120 [1] Matt. xiii. 31. [4, 5] 'States that are great in Territory, and yet not apt to conquer or inlarge' (1612). [6] some: 'others' (1612). of: 'or' (1612). [7] 'foundation' (1612). [10—12] 'goodly Stables, Elephants, (if you wil) Masse of treasure, Number in Armies, Ordinance, and Artillerie, they are all but a Sheep &c.' (1612). [14] stout and warlike: 'militarie' (1612). [14]—p. 121 [16] Nay..Themselues; added in 1625. [16] Virg. *Ecl.* VII. 52. [24] And the Defeat was Easie: Lat. *ea autem opinione fuit facilior.* [28] Plut. *Alex.* 31; North's trans. p. 735. The saying is again quoted in *Adv. of L.* I. 7, § 11. See also Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* III. 19. [29] Plut. *Lucull.* 27; North's trans. p. 560.

p. 121 [4] This saying is attributed to Mutianus the general of Vespasian in the discourse 'Of the true greatness of the Kingdom of Britain,' from which the whole passage is repeated. Machiavelli discusses the question in *Disc. sopr. Liv.* II. 10, where he tells the tale of Solon and Crœsus, for which see Lucian, *Charon.* Diogenes Laertius (IV. 48) gives as a saying of Bion's τὸν πλοῦτον νεῦρα πραγμάτων, and allusion is made to it in Plutarch (*Agis & Cleom.* c. 27): "But he that sayed first, that money was the sinew of all things, spake it chiefly in my opinion, in respect of the warres" (North's trans. p. 862, ed. 1595). [16—20] For this sentence the ed. of 1612 has: "The helpe is mercenary aides. But a Prince or State that resteth vpon waged Companies of forraine Armes, and not of his owne Natiues, may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soone after." [17] The Latin adds *cum copiæ nativæ desint.* See Machiavelli *Disc. sopr. Liv.* II. 20; *Princ.* 13. [22, 23] *That the same People or Nation, should:* 'to' (1612). [23]

Gen. xlix. 9, 14. [24] 'laid betweene' (1612). it be, that: added in 1625. [25] over-laid with *Taxes:* 'ouercharged with tributes' (1612). [25]—p. 122 [3] should ever.. *Tribute:* added in 1625. [29] For these Excises or *Accises* see Howell's *Fam. Lett. sect.* 1. lett. 6, ed. 1645. Writing to his father from Amsterdam, he says: "Twere cheap living here, were it not for the monstrous Accises which are impos'd upon all sorts of Commodities, both for Belly and Back; for the Retailer payes the *States* almost the one Moity as much as he payed for the Commodity at first, nor doth any murmur at it, because it goes not to any Favourit, or private Purse, but to preserve them from the *Spaniard,* their common Enemy as they term him; so that the saying is truely verified here, *Defend me, and spend me:* With this Accise principally, they maintain all their Armies by Sea and Land, with their Garrisons at home and abroad, both here, and in the *Indies,* and defray all other public charges besides."

p. 122 [3] *is:* 'bee euer' (1612). [4—6] 'Nobilitie & Gentlemen multiplying in too great a proportion maketh &c.' (1612). [4] *States:* Lat. *regnis et statibus.* [5] *Nobility* and *Gentlemen:* Lat. *nobiles et patricii atque (quos vocamus) generosi.* [8] in effect: added in 1625. [9] Labourer: Lat. *mancipia et operarii.* 'like as it is in copices, where' (1612). [10] *staddles:* Lat. *caudicum sive arborum majorum.* [12—18] So in Countries..Strength: altered from ed. of 1612, where it stands thus: 'And take away the middle people, & you take away the infantery, which is the nerue of an Armie: and you bring it to this, that not the hundreth pole will be fit for a helmet, and so great population and little strength.' [18—34] This, which ....Hirelings; added in 1625. [23] The *Middle People:* Lat. *coloni et inferioris ordinis homines.* [25] *Hist. of Hen.* 7, p. 73—75, ed. 1622: "*Inclosures* at that time began to be more frequent, whereby Arrable Land (which could not be manured without People and Families) was turned into Pasture, which was easily rid by a few *Heards-men;* and Tenancies for *Yeares, Liues,* and *At Will* (whereupon much of the *Yeomanrie* liued) were turned into Demesnes. This bred a decay of People, and (by consequence) a decay of *Townes, Churches, Tithes,* and the like. The King likewise knew full well, and in no wise forgot, that there ensued withall vpon this a decay and diminution of *Subsidies* and *Taxes;* for the more Gentlemen, euer the lower Bookes of *Subsidies.* In remedying of this inconuenience, the Kings Wisdome was admirable, and the *Parliaments* at that time. *Inclosures* they would not forbid, for that had beene to forbid the improuement of the *Patrimonie* of the Kingdome; nor *Tillage* they would not compell, for that was to striue with Nature and Vtilitie. But they tooke a course to take away depopulating *Inclosures,* and depopulating *Pasturage,* and yet not by that name, or by any Imperious expresse *Prohibition,* but by consequence. The *Ordenance* was, *That all Houses of Husbandry, that were vsed with twentie Acres of Ground, and vpwards, should bee maintained and kept vp for euer; together with a competent Proportion of Land to be vsed and occupied with them;* and in no wise to bee seuered from them,

as by another *Statute*, made afterwards in his Successors time, was more fully declared. This vpon Forfeiture to be taken, not by way of Popular *Action*, but by seizure of the Land it selfe, by the King and Lords of the *Fee*, as to halfe the Profits, till the Houses and Lands were restored. By this meanes the Houses being kept vp, did of necessitie inforce a *Dweller;* and the proportion of Land for Occupation being kept vp, did of necessitie inforce that *Dweller* not to be a Begger or *Cottager*, but a man of some substance, that might keepe Hiends and Seruants, and set the Plough on going. This did wonderfully concerne the *Might* and *Manner-hood* of the Kingdome, to haue Fermes, as it were of a *Standerd*, sufficient to maintaine an able Body out of Penurie, and did in effect amortize a great part of the Lands of the Kingdome vnto the Hold and Occupation of the *Yeomanrie* or *Middle-People*, of a Condition betweene *Gentlemen*, and *Cottagers*, or *Pesants*. Now, how much this did aduance the *Militar Power* of the Kingdome, is apparant by the true *Principles* of Warre, and the Examples of other Kingdomes. For it hath beene held by the generall Opinion of men of best Iudgement in the Warres (howsoeuer some few haue varied, and that it may receiue some distinction of Case) that the principall Strength of an Armie consisteth in the *Infanterie* or *Foot*. And to make good *Infanterie*, it requireth men bred, not in a seruile or indigent fashion, but in some free and plentifull manner. Therefore if a *State* runne most to *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, and that the *Husband-men* and *Plough-men* bee but as their Work-folkes and Labourers, or else meere *Cottagers* (which are but *Housed-Beggers*) you may haue a good *Cauallerie*, but neuer good stable Bands of *Foot;* like to *Coppice-Woods*, that if you leaue in them *Staddles* too thicke, they will runne to Bushes and Briars, and haue little cleane Vnder-wood. And this is to bee seene in *France*, and *Italie*, and some other Parts abroad, where in effect all is *Noblesse*, or *Pesantrie*, I speake of People out of Townes, and no Middle People; and therefore no good Forces of *Foot;* Insomuch, as they are inforced to imploy Mercenarie Bands, of *Switzers*, and the like, for their *Battalions* of *Foot*. Whereby also it comes to passe, that those *Nations* haue much People, and few *Souldiors*. Whereas the King saw, that contrariwise it would follow, that *England*, though much lesse in Territorie, yet should haue infinitely more *Souldiours* of their natiue Forces, then those other Nations haue. Thus did the King secretly sowe *Hidraes* teeth, wherevpon (according to the *Poets* fiction) should rise vp *Armed men* for the seruice of this Kingdome." [34]—p. 123 [2] And thus....*Italy:* 'Certainely *Virgil* coupled Armes and the Plough together well in the constitution of ancient *Italy*' (1612).

p. 123 [3]—p. 124 [34] Neither..appeareth: added in 1625. [19] Dan. iv. 10, &c. See Machiavelli *Disc. sopr. Liv.* II. 3. [20] Comp. the treatise "Of the true greatness of the Kingdom of Britain." *Works*, VII. p. 52. [26] Comp. Machiavelli *Disc. sopr. Liv.* I. 6. [30] See Bacon's Speech on the Naturalization of the Scottish Nation, p. 23, ed. 1641. nice: Lat. *parci..et difficiles.*

p. 124 [5] Comp. Bacon's Speech on the Post-Nati of Scotland, p. 13, ed. 1641. [21] containe: Lat. *frænare.* [30] Mr Ellis in his note on the *De Augmentis*, VIII. c. 3 (*Works*, I. p. 797) quotes among the foreign generals who held high commands in the armies of Spain, "Bourbon, Prosper Colonna, Pescara, Egmont, Castaldo, Parma, Piccolomini, Spinola." He adds, "Of these, however, one or two might almost be called Spaniards; and it must be remembered that the dominions both of Charles V. and of his successors extended beyond the natural limits of the Spanish monarchy." The late Mr Buckle (*Hist. of Civ.* II. 80) regarded this practice at the end of the 17th century as one of the signs of the decay of Spain. [33] *PragmaticallSanction.* See Mr Ellis's note (*Works*, I. p. 798); "Soon after the accession of Philip the Fourth a royal decree or *Pragmática* was published which attempted to carry out some of the recommendations of the council, and which gave certain privileges to persons who married, and further immunities to those who had six children." now: Lat. *hoc anno*, i.e. 1622, when the *De Augmentis* was published. Mr Sidney Walker (*Crit. on Shakespeare*, II. 216) conjectured that we should read 'new.'

p. 125 [1—4] 'Sedentary and within-doores Arts, and nice manufactures, that require rather the finger then the hand or arme, haue in their nature a contrariety to a disposition militar' (1612). [6] Travaile: 'pain' (1612). [8]—p. 127 [28] Therefore..Arming: added in 1625. [11] *Slaves:* Lat. *non ingenuos sed servos plerumque.* did rid: Lat. *expediebantur.* [16] Lat. *qui propterea alliciendi aut saltem facile recipiendi sunt.* [29] Plutarch, *Rom.* 28; *Livy*, I. 16. [34] though not wisely: Lat. *non nimis prudenter quidem sed diligenter tamen.*

p. 126 [1] The Latin adds *ut cives sui belligeratores essent.* [3] The Latin adds *Britanni.* [5] Lat. *Turcæ idem institutum, lege suâ paululum extimulati, hodie retinent.* [25] Occasions (as may be pretended): Lat. *causas aut saltem prætextus.*

p. 127 [6] Politique: Lat. *publici.* [30—34] '& to the politike body of a Kingdome or estate, a ciuill warre is as the heate of a feuer: but an honourable forraine warre is like the heate of exercise' (1612). [33] Bacon (*Hist. of Hen.* 7, p. 68, ed. 1622) says of the rebellion of Sir John Egremond, "when the King was aduertised of this new *Insurrection* (being almost a *Feuer*, that tooke him euery yeare) &c."

p. 128 [1] and..Health: added in 1625. [3] After 'Corrupt' the ed. of 1612 has; "States liberall of naturalization, are capable of greatnesse; and the iealous states that rest vpon the first tribe & stirpe, quickly want body to carrie the boughes and branches. Many are the ingredients into the receit for greatnesse." This was expanded in 1625 into the paragraph beginning p. 123, l. 18. [3]—p. 130 [9] But howsoever..To conclude: added in 1625. [10] In his *Considerations touching a Warre with Spaine*, p. 50, ed. 1629, speaking of the power of that country, Bacon says; "which Power, well sought into, will be found, rather to consist in a Veterane Army, (such as vpon seuerall Occasions and Pretensions, they haue euer had on foot, in one part or other of *Christendome*, now by the space of (almost) sixscore yeares,) than in

the strength of their Dominions, and Prouinces." [14] Lat. *Monarchiæ quædam epitome est.* [15] Cic. *ad Att.* x. 8. [22] Fought in Sept. B.C. 31 between the fleets of Antony and Octavianus. [23] *Lepanto:* Lat. *Insulas Cursolares.* The battle of Lepanto was fought A.D. 1571 off the Kurzolari islands. Cervantes lost his hand in the engagement. [24] Lat. *circulum in naribus Turcæ posuit.*

p. 129 [5] "Their *Greatnesse* consisteth in their *Treasure:* Their *Treasure* in their *Indies;* And their *Indies,* (if it bee well weighed,) are indeed but an Accession to such, as are Masters by Sea." *Considerations touching a Warre with Spaine,* p. 72, ed. 1629. [26] able to enflame all Mens Courages: Lat. *tot et tanta fuerunt et tam insigni splendore coruscantia, ut pectoribus mortalium, etiam maxime conglaciatis, igniculos subdere, eaque ad bellum inflammare potuerint.*

p. 130 [10] Matt. vi. 27; Luke xii. 25. as the *Scripture* saith: added in 1625. [11] this: 'the' (1612). [12] 'But certainly' (1612). [14—20] to adde..Chance: 'by ordinances and constitutions, and maners which they may introduce, to sowe greatnesse to their posteritie and succession. But these things are commonly left to chance' (1612).

ESSAY 30

First published in the edition of 1597, slightly enlarged in 1612, and again in 1625.

p. 131 [6, 7] *not:* omitted in 1597, first added in 1612. [10] Lat. *qui tamen in senectute tandem velut debita exigentur.* [12] After 'still' the ed. of 1612 has: "Certainly most lusty old men catch their death by that aduenture." [12] For Age will not be Defied: added in 1612; omitted in MS. [13] 'any sudden' (1597, 1612). (15—17) For it is..then one: added in 1612 but omitted in MS. [16] Possibly Bacon had in his mind what Machiavelli says to the same effect (*Disc.* I. 26). [17] Lat. *quam unum magnum.* [17]—p. 132 [3] Examine..Body: added in 1625. [18] The Latin adds *mansiones.* [22] Lat. *ad consueta reddas.*

p. 132 [6] 'is the best precept' (1597, 1612). [6—16] As for..Nature: added in 1625. [8] Lat. *intus cohibitam.* [10] Lat. *tristitiam alte pressam et non communicatam.* [13] Wonder, and: omitted in the Latin. [18] for: 'to' (1597). [20—24] I commend..lesse: added in 1625. [25] your: 'the' (1597). (26) Lat. *consilium medicorum.* [27] Lat. *dum vales, corpore tuo utere; nec sis nimis delicatus.* [30] The Latin adds *absque multâ medicatione.* [30]—p. 133 [6] added in 1612 but omitted in MS. [31] Celsus, *de Med.* I. I.

p. 133 [6] Lat. *robur acquiret.* [8] 'humors' (1597, 1612). [10] Lat. *regulares et rigidi.* [14] combine: 'compound' (1597). of either sort: 'of both sorts' (1597, 1612).

ESSAY 31

First published in 1625.

p. 134 [10] Lat. *locum reperiunt.* [12] Bacon describes Henry 7 as "hauing the composition of a wise King (*Stout* without, and *apprehensiue* within)." *Hist. of Hen.* 7, p. 146. [21] Lat. *fumo enim et tenebris aluntur suspiciones.*

p. 135 [1] Lat. *angelos esse aut sanctos.* [5] Lat. *remedia parare ac si suspiciones essent veræ.* [11] Buzzes: Lat. *inanes bombi.* [12] Lat. *externo artificio.* [20] Lat. *cautum magis et circumspectum.* [24] Lat. *diverbium habetur apud Italos.* *Antith.* XLV; *Suspicio fidem absolvit.* Mr Singer gives as another form of the proverb, *Sospetto di Tiranno fede non arma.*

ESSAY 32

First published in 1597, enlarged in 1612, and again in 1625. In the 'Short notes for civil Conversation' (*Works*, VII. p. 109), paragraphs 4—8 are almost verbatim a repetition of this Essay.

p. 136 [7] Lat. *cætera steriles et jejuni.* Comp. Plutarch's *Morals*, trans. Holland, p. 8; "to be able to speak of one thing and no more, is first and formest in my conceit no small signe of ignorance." [9] when it is once perceived: added in 1625. [10] Part: 'kind' (1612). [11] Lat. *ansam sermonis præbere.* give: 'guide' in the printed ed. of 1597, but 'giue' in the MS. which is printed in the Appendix to the present volume. [14] 'It is good to varie and mixe speech, &c.' (1597, 1612). [16] Lat. *quæstiones cum positivis.* [17—19] For it is a dull Thing..farre; added in 1625. [18] Lat. *in aliquo subjecto diutius hærere.* [20] As for Iest, &c.: 'But some thinges are priuiledged from iest' (1597, 1612).

p. 137 [2—7] Yet there be....*Loris:* added in 1625. [7] Ovid, *Met.* II. 127. [8, 9] And generally..Bitternesse: added in 1612, but both this sentence and the next are omitted in the MS. [13] Lat. *placebit in multis.* [16] Lat. *scientiam suam ostentandi.* [18—25] But let..Galliards: added in 1625. [24] Lat. *Sicut tibicines moderari solent saltantibus.* [29] ought to be seldome, and well chosen: 'is not good often' (1597, 1612). [30—32] I knew.. *Himselfe:* added in 1625.

p. 138 [2] 'as whereunto' (1597, 1612). [3—6] Speech of Touch.... any Man: added in 1612, but omitted in MS. [3] Lat. *alios pungens et vellicans.* [5, 6] Lat. *instar campi aperti in quo spatiari licet, non viæ regiæ quæ deducit domum.* [6—14] I knew..*Dinner:* added in 1625. Lat. *scomma aliquod.* [16] Lat. *apte loqui et accommodate.* [19] 'sheweth' (1597, 1612). [21] Setled: 'set' (1597). [24] As it is betwixt the Grey-hound, and the Hare: added in 1625. Comp. *Adv. of L.* II. 14, § 6. [27] Lat. *abruptum quiddam est et ingratum.*

ESSAY 33

First published in 1625. The Latin title is '*De plantationibus populorum, et coloniis.*'

p. 139 [2] Primitive: omitted in the Latin. [3] Comp. Lucr. V. 823, 4.

[13] Lat. *fructus uber et locuples.* [16] Lat. ***sub initiis coloniarum.*** [21] Lat. *exules et damnati.* [22] Lat. *corrumpit et perdit.*

p. 140 [1] Lat. *Hujusmodi enim homines profligati instar erronum degunt.* [3] Lat. *et coloniæ fastidio afficientur.* Lat. *nuncios et literas in patriam mittent in plantationis præjudicium et dedecus.* [6] Lat. *præcipue sint artifices generum sequentium.* [7] Carpenters, Ioyners: Lat. *fabri lignarii.* [10] Lat. adds *cervisiarii et hujusmodi.* [11] Lat. *esculentorum et poculentorum.* [12] Lat. *sine culturâ.* [18] The Latin adds *melones, pepones, cucumeres.* [19] The Latin adds *siliquam.* [27] Meale: Lat. *farinæ omnigenæ.* [31] The Latin adds *cuniculi.* The Latin adds, *Præcipio autem piscationibus incumbendum, tum ad sustentationem coloniæ, tum ad lucrum exportationis.*

p. 141 [2] Lat. *horreis publicis assignetur.* [6] Lat. *merces nativas.* [8] Lat. *ut exportatio earum in loca ubi maxime in pretio sunt sumptus levet.* [9—12] The order of these clauses is inverted in the Latin. [11] In Captain John Smith's *Hist. of Virginia*, p. 165, ed. 1626, among the answers given by him to the commissioners for the reformation of Virginia, we find the following:—"*Quest.* 2. What conceiue you should be the cause, though the country be good, there comes nothing but Tobacco? *Answ.* The oft altering of Gouernours it seemes causes euery man make vse of his time, and because Corne was stinted at two shillings sixpence the bushell, and Tobacco at three shillings the pound, and they value a mans labour a yeere worth fifty or threescore pound, but in Corne not worth ten pound, presuming Tobacco will furnish them with all things; now make a mans labour in Corne worth threescore pound, and in Tobacco but ten pound a man, then shall they haue Corne sufficient to entertaine all commers, and keepe their people in health to doe any thing, but till then, there will be little or nothing to any purpose." [12] The Latin adds *in regionibus desertis.* [13] but too much: omitted in the Latin. Lat. *Itaque ligna ad ædificia, naves, aut ejusmodi usus apta, inter præcipuas merces numeranda.* [16] Lat. *salis nigri confectio per calorem solis.* [18] growing Silke: Lat. *sericum vegetabile.* [24] The Latin adds *similiter et alia quæ perquiri possunt.* Lat. *verum fodinis ne confidas nimium præsertim a principio.* [25] Lat. *fodinæ enim fallaces sunt et sumptuosæ, et spe pulchrâ lactantes.* [33]—p. 142 [3] Let not..Number: Lat. *Rursus, Colonia a numerosiore concilio (intelligo in regione, matre coloniæ, residente) non pendeat; nec ob contributiones exiguas multitudini nimiæ subjiciatur; sed sit numerus eorum, qui negotia coloniæ procurant et ordinant, moderatus.* [6] Lat. *vectigalibus et portoriis.* [9] Lat. *in quascunque velint partes.* [10] of Caution: omitted in the Latin.

p. 142 [11] The Latin adds *aut superoneres.* [14—16] Lat. *ut coloni bene victitant, nec penuriâ affligantur.* [18] Lat. *in locis paludinosis et aquosis.* [21] Lat. *paulatim tamen in superioris regionis partes et ab aquis remotiores ascendendum.* [24] Lat. *quo cibi, quos verisimile est putridos aliter sæpe futuros, condiantur.*

p. 143 [3] Lat. *ut plantatio ex sese propagetur nec semper ab externis*

pendeat. [8] Lat. *nil aliud est quam proditio mera profusioque sanguinis complurium.*

ESSAY 34

Greatly enlarged from the ed. of 1612.

p. 144 [1] *Promus*, fol. 2 *a*, "Divitiæ impedimenta virtutis: The baggage of vertue." [2, 3] The *Roman..impedimenta:* omitted in the Latin. [3] *Antith.* VI; *Non aliud divitias dixerim, quam impedimenta virtutis; nam virtuti et necessariæ sunt, et graves.* [5] nor left behinde: omitted in the Latin. [6] loseth, or: omitted in the Latin. [10] Eccl. v. 1. [12—14] Lat. *Possessio divitiarum nullâ voluptate dominum perfundit, quantum ad sensum.* *Antith.* VI; *Divitiarum magnarum vel custodia est, vel dispensatio quædam, vel fama; at nullus usus.* *Annon vides lapillis et id genus deliciis fingi pretia, ut possit esse aliquis magnarum divitiarum usus?* [16] The Latin adds *et inflatio ab ipsis.* [21] you will say: added in 1625. Lat. *usum earum vel in hoc maxime cerni posse.*

p. 145 [1] Prov. xviii. 11: in the Latin the whole verse is quoted. [2] Lat. *Sed caute Salomon.* [9] Lat. *instar monachi alicujus aut a seculo abstracti.* [11] Cic. *pro Rabir. Post.* 2. [13]—p. 147 [32] Hearken also..*Service:* added in 1625. [15] Prov. xxviii. 20. [27] Lat. *per..injusticiam et scelera.* [30] Lat. *neque tamen ipsa omnino innocens est.*

p. 146 [2] The Latin adds *et lucra rustica.* [6] Lat. *dives erat..sylvis tam cæduis quam grandioribus.* [15] Lat. *nundinarum et mercatuum.* [18] younger: omitted in the Latin. [19] Lat. *lucra ex professionibus.* [24] Lat. *servos et ministros alienos in damnum dominorum corrumpat.* [26] Lat. *artificiose et vafre.* [27] Lat. *quæ omnes merito damnandæ sunt.*

p. 147 [5] Lat. *homines fortunarum dubiarum quandoque extollent.* [16] Lat. *vix fortunarum dispendia vitabit.* [24] Lat. *per servitium regum aut magnatum dignitatem quandam habent.* [29] Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 42. [32, 33] 'Neither trust thou much others, that seeme to despise them' (1612). [33] *Antith.* VI; *Divitias contemnunt qui desperant.*

p. 148 [2] Prov. xxiii. 5. [4] Lat. *moribundi.* [5] Lat. *aut usui publico, aut liberis cognatis et amicis.* [10] In his *Advice to the King, touching Mr. Suttons Estate*, Bacon said, it "seemeth to me, as a *Sacrifice without Salt:* Having the *Materials*, of a *Good Intention*, but not powdred, with any such *Ordinances*, and Institutions, as may preserve the same from turning Corrupt; Or, at least, from becomming *Unsavoury*, and of little *Use.*" *Resuscitatio*, p. 265. This was written in 1613. [14] thine Advancements: Lat. *dona tua.*

ESSAY 35

This Essay is omitted in the Latin translation.

p. 149 [5] 1 Sam. xxviii. 19. The witch of Endor is called *mulier pythonem habens* in the Vulgate, as having the spirit of Python, like the

girl at Philippi in Acts xvii. 16. [7] The verses are Virgil's (*Æn.* III. 97), but adapted from Hom. *Il.* xx. 307, 8. [12] Seneca, *Med.* II. 374—8. [19] Her. III. 124.

p. 150 [3] Plut. *Alex.* 2. [10] Appian, *Bell. Civ.* IV. 134. [11] Suetonius (*Galb.* 4) tells it of Augustus, not Tiberius. [13] Tac. *Hist.* v. 13. [17] Suet. *Dom.* 23. The same story is told in the *Adv. of L.* I. 7, § 4, and in a letter from Bacon to King James on a Digest of the Laws of England. [21] "*One day when* King Henry *the Sixth* (*whose* Innocencie *gaue him* Holines) *was washing his hands at a great* Feast, *and cast his* Eye *vpon* King Henry, *then a young* Youth, *he said;* This is the Lad, that shall possesse quietly that, that we now striue for." *Hist. of Hen.* 7, p. 247. Shakspere has introduced the incident (3 *Hen.* 6, IV. 6), "Come hither, England's hope: If secret powers, &c." See Holinshed, III. p. 678 *b*, ed. 1587. [24] The same story is told by De Thou (*Hist.* Lib. XXII. *ad fin.*), who says the Astrologer was Luca Gaurico, an Italian. But Bayle (*Dict.* art. Henri II.) has shewn that Gaurico's predictions, made in 1552 and 1556, were wholly different. I am indebted to Mr Daniel, of the Battersea Training College, for the following quotation from *Les Prophetics* of Nostradamus (I cent. 35 quatr. ed. 1568).

Le lyon ieune le vieux surmontera,
En champ bellique par singulier duelle,
Dans cage d'or les yeux luy creuera,
Deux classes vne puis mourir mort cruelle.

In the ed. of 1668 the last line runs *Deux playes une, pour &c.* [33] Henry 2 of France was killed at a tournament in 1559.

p. 151 [3] Another form is given in the *Ancient Scottish Prophecies,* edited for the Bannatyne Club, 1833;

When HEMPE is come and also gone,
SCOTLAND and ENGLAND shall be all one.

[16] Mr Daniel has suggested to me that the 'Baugh' is probably the Bass Rock, and the 'May' the Isle of May in the Frith of Forth. Compare *The Complaynt* of Sir D. Lyndsay (*Works,* I. p. 277, ed. Chalmers).

Quhen the Bas, and the Ile of May,
Beis set upon the Mont Sinay.

[24] The date of the prophecy was A.D. 1475. It is quoted at length by Bayle (*Dict.* art. Stofler, note D) from the *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus* (an. 1589; Wolfii *Lect. Mem.* to. 2, p. 1028) of Jansonius Doccomensis Frisius.

Post mille expletos a partu virginis annos,
Et post quingentos rursus ab axe datos,
Octuagesimus octavus mirabilis annus
Ingruet, et secum tristia fata trahet.
Si non hoc anno totus male concidet orbis,
Si non in nihilum terra fretumque ruat;
Cuncta tamen mundi sursum ibunt atque deorsum
Imperia, et luctus undique grandis erit.

According to De Thou (*Hist.* lib. XC. sub init.) the prophecy of Johannes Müller, of Regiomontanus, as he was called from Königsberg the place of his birth, was originally contained in four German verses, which were still to be seen in De Thou's time in a monastery at Kuchel in Austria. They were translated into Latin by Gaspar Bruschius, and published with a tract of Engelbert Abbot of Admont, *de ortu et fino R. Imperii.* Bruschius altered them considerably in his translation, and made them refer to events which were to happen under one Sixtus. Another curious alteration is made in a recent work, called *Das Buch der Wahr- und Weissagungen*, Regensburg, 1859, where the second line reads thus,

Et septingentos rursus abire datos,

and the prophecy is referred to the French Revolution. Bacon again quotes it in his *Considerations touching a Warre with Spaine*, pp. 49, 50, ed. 1629. [29] Arist. *Eq.* 195, &c.

p. 152 [10] An act against fond and fantastical prophecies was passed, 5 Eliz. cap. 15 [1562]. See also 3 and 4 Ed. VI. cap. 15, and 33 Hen. VIII. cap. 14 (Pickering's *Statutes at Large*, VI. 207, Cambr. 1763). [26] Bacon refers to the *Critias*, which in Cornarius' Latin translation is called "Critias sive Atlanticus."

ESSAY 36

Greatly enlarged from the ed. of 1612.

p. 153 [6] Lat. *si in ambitu et petitione suâ repulsas non patiantur.* [9] The Latin adds *et subinde frustrentur.* [11] Lat. *in sinu lætantur.* [13] 'the worst propertie that can be' (1612). [25]—p. 155 [11] But since..Wood: added in 1625.

p. 154 [13] Lat. *Alius usus ambitiosorum non parvus; ut prægrandibus alas amputent,et eorum potentiam labefactent.* [16] Dio Cass. LVIII. 9. [26] *Ambitious:* omitted in the Latin. Lat. *procerum aut magistratuum.* [30] Lat. *æque ambitiosos et protervos.* [34] Lat. *allicere..et animare.*

p. 155 [2, 3] Lat. *quantum ad ingenerandam illam in ambitiosis opinionem, ut se ruinæ proximos putent, atque eo modo contineantur.* [12] 'the lesse' (1612). [14] Lat. *confusionem consiliorum.* [15—17] But yet..Dependances: added in 1625. [17] Lat. *qui gratiâ et clientelis pollet.* [18] Lat. *inter strenuos et negotiis pares.* [20] The Latin adds, *ut viros cordatos deprimat.* [22] Lat. *tribus insignitur commodis.* [24] Lat. *ad viros principes.* [30] and States: omitted in the Latin.

ESSAY 37

Not translated in the Latin.

ESSAY 38

Slightly altered and enlarged from the ed. of 1612.

p. 159 [5] The Latin adds after 'Importune,' *sed non tollunt.* [9] Faylings: 'failes' (1612). [12] Lat. *natatores recentes.*

[19—21] Like to..Angry: omitted in the MS. [20] The Latin adds, *priusquam quicquam faceret.* [21] Lat. *secundo, naturam moderari et ad minores portiones deducere.* [22]—p. 160 [2] As if..Meale: omitted in the MS.

p. 160 [1] Lat. *à majoribus haustibus ad minores.* [2] Lat. *naturam penitus sub jugum mittere et domare.* [6] Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 293. [8—11] The MS. has, "neither is it amisse to bend nature to a contrarye extreame, where it is noe vice." [14—17] See *Adv. of L.* II. 19, § 2; Cic. *de Orator.* I. 33. [19—28] But let not..moved with it: added in 1625. [22] Babrius, *Fab.* 32.

p. 161 [1] Ps. cxx. 6, Vulgate; quoted again in Bacon's Letter to Sir Thomas Bodley (*Cabala*, p. 64). [4] Lat. *quicquid a naturâ tuâ alienum reperias.* [5] Lat. *ad ejusdem exercitationes et meditationes.* [9—12] A Mans..the Other: added in 1625.

Essay 39

Enlarged from ed. of 1612.

p. 162 [1] *Antith.* X; *Cogitamus secundum naturam; loquimur secundum præcepta; sed agimus secundum consuetudinem.* [6] *Disc. sopr. Liv.* III. 6. [12] Lat. *aut in promissis constantibus nedum juramentis.* [13] Lat. *viris sanguinolentis et jamdudum cædibus assuetis.* [15] Friar Clement assassinated Hen. 3 of France, 2 Aug. 1589. [16] Henry 4 was stabbed by Ravaillac 4 May, 1610. John Jaureguy attempted the life of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, 18 March, 1582. On 10 July, 1584, the Prince was shot by Balthazar Gérard, a fanatic (Motley, *Dutch Rep.* III. 538, 608). [17] The Latin adds *aut Guidone Faulxio.* [18] Observe the double negative. Lat. *fidem et ferociam.* [20] Lat. *primæ classis sicarii.* The translator has evidently missed the point of the phrase 'Men of the first Bloud,' which simply means men who for the first time have their hands in murder.

p. 163 [8—26] We see also..Body: added in 1625. [9] Cic. *Tusc.* V. 27, § 78; Q. Curt. VIII. 9; Strabo, XV. 1, § 62; Val. Max. II. 6, § 14. Lat. *loquor de gymnosophistis veteribus et modernis.* [16] Lat. *vix ejulatu aut gemitu ullo emisso.* The Translator evidently understood 'queching' in the sense of screeching, crying out, but Nares (*Glossary*) says it is the same as *quich*, to move, flinch. Cic. *Tusc.* II. 14, § 34; V. 27, § 77. [18] The story is told of Brian O'Rourke, who was executed in May 1597, but this could hardly have been called the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time. See Cox, *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 399, ed. 1692; *Biog. Brit.* art. *Ralegh*, note C. This incident is introduced into *The first part of Sir John Oldcastle* (K 3 verso, ed. 1600), where the Irishman appeals to the judge: 'Prethee Lord shudge let me have mine own clothes my strouces there, and let me bee hanged in a wyth after my country the Irish fashion.' [21] See Giles Fletcher's *Russe Commonwealth*, pp. 89, 90, ed. 1591. [31] in effect: 'nothing' (1612). [32]—p. 164 [1] So we see..afterwards: added in 1625.

p. 164 [1] Lat. *in pueritiâ aut adolescentiâ.* [9] Collegiate: 'in troupe' (1612). [14] The Latin adds *et* (*ut chymicorum vocabulo utar*) *projectio.* [17] The Latin adds *quin et leges bonæ.* [18] much: added in 1625.

ESSAY 40

Slightly enlarged and altered from the ed. of 1612.

p. 165 [2] 'to a mans fortune' (1612): Lat. *ad fortunas promovendas vel deprimendas.* Favour: Lat. *gratia alicujus ex magnatibus.* 'oportune death of others' (1612). [5] his owne hands: 'himselfe' (1612). *Faber*..Poet: added in 1625. The saying is attributed to Appius in the treatise *de Republ. ordin.* II. 1, which is generally assigned to Sallust. But Mr Markby conjectures, with great probability, from a passage in the *Adv. of L.* II. 24, § 8, that Bacon imagined the phrase to have grown out of a verse of Plautus (*Trin.* II. 2, 87): "*Nam pol sapiens* (saith the Comicall Poet) *Fingit fortunam sibi*, and it grewe to an adage, *Faber quisque fortunæ propriæ.*" [6] Lat. *inquit Comicus.* [9] *Adagia*, p. 82; ὄφις ἢν μὴ φάγῃ ὄφιν, δράκων οὐ γενήσεται. Given also in a slightly different form in Mich. Apostolii *Prov.* cent. XV. 55. The Latin adds *ut inquit adagium.* [12] 'hidden and secret' (1612). [13] *Fortune.* Certaine: The editions of 1612 and 1625 both have a full stop after 'Fortune.' It should probably be a colon. [16] 'no stonds' (1612). [17—19] But that..*Fortune:* added in 1625. [19] 'saith *Liuie* well' (1612). [20] Livy, XXXIX. 40.

p. 166 [5] *Antith.* XI; *Fortuna veluti Galaxia.* [11] The MS. has, "The Italians have found out one of them; *Poco di matto*, when they speak of one that cannot do amisse." [23, 24] The French..*Remuant:* omitted in the Latin. [29] The Latin adds *eæque vicissim pariunt animos et auctoritatem.* [34] Higher Powers: the MS. ends here. [34]—p. 167 [23] So *Cæsar*..*Magnus:* added in 1625.

p. 167 [1] Plut. *Cæs.* 38. [2] Plut. *Syll.* 34. [6] Plut. *Syll.* 6. See *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 8. [11—17] Certainly..Selfe: added in 1625. [14] Plut. *Timol.* 36. See *Colours of Good and Evil*, 9.

ESSAY 41

In a letter from Bacon to Secretary Conway, dated Gray's Inn, 29 March, 1623, he says, "I was looking over some short papers of mine touching usury, how to grind the teeth of it, and yet to make it grind to his Majesty's mill in good sort, without discontent or perturbation: if you think good I will perfect it, as I send it to his Majesty as some fruits of my leisure. But yet I would not have it come as from me, not from any tenderness in the thing, but because I know well in the courts of princes it is usual *non res, sed displicet auctor.*" (Dixon's *Pers. Hist. of Lord Bacon*, p. 296). This fixes approximately the time at which the Essay "Of Usurie" was written. The subject of Usury was then being much discussed. On the 2nd of March, 1623, a bill was brought into parliament against Usury and passed the Commons on

the 26th of April. Two years before, on 18 April, 1621, a bill for the abatement of Usury had been brought in.

p. 168 [4] An Act of 37 Hen. 8, cap. 6, had restricted the rate of usance to 10 per cent. In the reign of Edw. 6 Usury was forbidden, but in Elizabeth's time the act of Hen. 8 was revived under certain restrictions. See p. 147, l. 1. [8] Virg. *Georg.* IV. 168. [10] Gen. iii. 19. [14] Overbury's *Characters; The Devillish Vsurer.* See Arist. *Pol.* I. 3, § 23. [16] Matt. xix. 8. [22] Lat. *de argentariis et excambiis publicis.*

p. 169 [2] Lat. *ne dum fœnore feramur in melius, intercipiamur et incidamus in pejus.* [9] *Vena Porta:* see the note on p. 80, l. 21. [16] Lat. *portoriorum et vectigalium imminutio.* [20, 21] This passage should evidently be pointed thus: 'Uncertainties, at the end of the Game, Most &c.'

p. 170 [14] Lat. *distractiones prepropera.*

p. 171 [1] The Latin adds *quod modo fecimus.* [20] The Latin adds *si nos audies.* [25—30] Lat. *Quandoquidem annuus valor prædiorum, hic apud nos in Angliâ, excedit illum fœnoris ad hanc proportionem redacti, quantum annuus valor sex librarum excedit illum quinque tantum.* [26] Lat. *ruri et alibi degentibus.*

p. 172 [3] After '*Merchants*' the Latin adds *et non aliis quibuscunque hominibus*, omitting the words 'upon *Usury* at a *Higher Rate*.' [9—13] omitted in the Latin. [24—26] Lat. *ita enim, prætextu licentiarum, opportunitatem non habebunt pecunias aliorum pro suis commodandi.* [30—34] omitted in the Latin.

Essay 42

Enlarged from the ed. of 1612, where it is called 'Of Young men and Age.'

p. 173 [6—9] And yet..Divinely; added in 1625. [13—17] As it was.. List: added in 1625. [14] Spartian. *Vit. Sev.:* quoted again in *Apoph.* 98. [18—20] As it is seene..and others: added in 1625.

p. 174 [3] *Age:* Lat. *Senum.* [5] New Things: 'things meerly new' (1612). [15, 16] Care not..Inconveniences: omitted in the Latin. [30] Good for: 'in respect of' (1612). [34] *Rabbine:* '*Rabby*' (1612). Abrabanel in his Commentary on Joel has the same remark, which is again referred to in the *Adv. of L.* I. 3, § 3. Compare also Hugo de St Victore (I. p. 100, Ven. 1588); *senes somniant genere somnii contemplatorio, juvenes vident intellectuali genere visionis et revelatorio.*

p. 175 [1] Joel ii. 28. [9—end] added in 1625. [13] *Hermogenes:* see Philostr. *Vit. Sophist.* II. 7: ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας ἥκων ἀφῃρέθη τὴν ἕξιν, ὑπ' οὐδεμιᾶς φανερᾶς νόσου. According to Suidas this happened when he was 24.

p. 175 [20] Cic. *Brut.* 95. [21] Lat. *nimium efferuntur.* [23] Lat. *ætas provectior.* [24] Livy, XXXVIII. 53; the phrase is from Ovid, *Her.* IX. 23, 24.

ESSAY 43

Slightly enlarged from the ed. of 1612.

p. 176 [1] *Antith.* II; *Virtus, ut gemma nobilis, melius inseritur sine multo auro et ornatu.* In the *Promus*, fol. 2*b*, we find, "Vertue like a ryche stone, best plaine sett." [8] Lat. *ut non turpiter erraret.* [11—16] But this..Times: added in 1625. [16] Lat. *et nihilominus perpulchri.* [18] Lat. *oris et corporis motus.* [21] 'and there is no' (1612).

p. 177 [1] 'proportions' (1612). [2] *Apelles:* not Apelles, but Zeuxis (Cic. *de Inv.* II. 1, § 1; Pliny, XXXV. 36, § 2), who, when painting a picture for the temple of Juno Lacinia at Croton, selected five of the most beautiful virgins of the country, that his painting might present the best features of each. The allusion to Albert Durer is to his treatise, *De Symmetriâ partium humani corporis.* Comp. Donne's *Satires*, IV. 204—206;

> "And then by Durer's rules survey the state
> Of his each limb, and with strings the odds tries
> Of his neck to his leg, and waste to thighs."

[3] the: added in 1625. [12—15] A man..doe well: added in 1625. [17] The Latin adds, *secundum illud Euripidis.* The original is preserved in Plutarch, *Alcib.* I. 5; πάντων τῶν καλῶν καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον καλόν. It occurs again *Apoph.* 145. Bacon entered it in the *Promus*, fol. 8 *a.* [20] 'and by considering:' in the MS. of the ed. of 1612. [24] Lat. *senectutem autem sero pœnitentem.*

ESSAY 44

Slightly altered from the ed. of 1612.

Chamberlain in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, written Dec. 17, 1612, soon after the publication of the second edition of the Essays, says, "Sir Francis Bacon hath set out new essays, where, in a chapter of *Deformity*, the world takes notice that he paints out his little cousin to the life" (*Life and Times of James I.* I. 214). "His little cousin" was Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.

p. 178 [1] *Antith.* II; *Deformes naturam ulcisci solent.* [4] part: added in MS. in the ed. of 1612. Rom. i. 31; 2 Tim. iii. 3. [5] And so they have their Revenge of Nature: omitted in the Latin.

p. 179 [3] 'specially' (1612). [11] 'vpon the whole matter' (1612). Lat. *si rem diligenter introspicias.* [21] Lat. *Manet illa regula quam antea posuimus.* [24—end] 'and therefore they prooue either the best of men, or the worst, or strangely mixed' (1612).

ESSAY 45

p. 180 [14] Lat. *variis æstibus reciprocantur.* [20] Æsop, *Fab.* 275. Prometheus made a man, Zeus a bull, and Athene a house, and Momus was chosen judge. After finding fault with the bull for not having his horns below his eyes so that he could see where to strike, and with

the man for not having a door in his breast (see *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 11), he said the house should have been built upon wheels that it might be removed from ill neighbours.

p. 181 [4] the Commoditie: Lat. *commoditas nulla*, and this seems necessary to the sense. [10—14] Lat. *quæ singula minime eo animo enumeramus ac si domus aliqua his incommodis omnibus vacare possit, verum ut tot ex illis evitemus quot evitare concedatur.* [16] Plutarch, *Lucull.* 39; *Apoph.* 106. [25] in the Oratours Art: omitted in the Latin.

p. 182 [4] Esth. i. 6. Lat. *et portionem mansionis sive familiæ.* [5] Lat. *ad pompas, magnificentias, et celebritates.* [7] Lat. *non ut latera domus.* [14] Fortie: Lat. *quinquaginta.* [15, 16] Lat. *et subter eam cameram item alteram, similis longitudinis et latitudinis: quæ apparatum et instructionem ad festa, ludos, et ejusmodi magnificentias, actores etiam dum se ornent, et parent, commode recipiat.* [19] with a Partition betweene: omitted in the Latin. [23] The Latin adds *excepto sacello.* [27] Eighteene: Lat. *quindecim.* [30, 31] omitted in the Latin. [31] Lat. *gradus autem turris apertos esse, et in se revertentes, et per senos subinde divisos: utrinque statuis ligneis inauratis, vel saltem ænei coloris cinctos.*

p. 183 [2] Lat. *verum cavendum ne locus ubi famuli comedant sit ad imum gradum vel prope; si enim sit, ciborum nidor ascendet, tanquam in tubo quodam.* [8] Sixteene: Lat. *viginti.* [23] Lat. *latus universum areæ.* [25] The Latin adds *sint in laquearibus.* [27] Lat. *ubi pingantur columnæ, imagines omnigenæ, flores, et similia.* [28—30] Lat. *At latus ex parte familiæ, simul cum latere tertio e regione frontis, complectatur cameras præsentiales; et alias usus et decoris ordinarii.* [34] Lat. *cubicula et cameræ.*

p. 184 [6] Lat. *ad planum ædificii, et minime protuberantes.* [13] Lat. *duæ scilicet ex utroque latere areæ.* [20] The Latin adds *quatenus ad duo latera.* [25] Lat. *fons splendidus.* [31] The Latin adds *tam ex cameris et conclavibus et porticibus.* [33] Lat. *Habeant autem portiones singulæ ægris destinatæ (ut moderni loquuntur) Antecameram, Cameram ad cubile et Re-cameram.*

p. 185 [3] The Latin adds *ex omnibus tribus lateribus.* [5] Lat. *ad angulos duos lateris transversi in solario secundo.* [9] Lat. *sint autem conclavia illa rebus curiosis omnigenis, et spectatu dignis, referta.* [13] Lat. *qui per secretos tubos iterum transeant.* Then follows the additional clause; *Interior autem pars, in solario superiore versus aream, formetur in porticus et ambulacra, bene munita et obducta, ad usum convalescentium.* [15] The Latin adds *nam de balneis et piscinis non loquar.* [16] Lat. *area viridis, gramine vestita, cum pariete in circuitu, et juxta parietem arboribus, ordine positis, sata.* [23—35] Lat. *sed ambulacris supra columnas, non arcus, erectis; in summitate vero plumbo, vel lapide quadrato, coopertis, et ad latera elegantibus statuis parvis, ænei coloris, munitis clausam.* [27] Lat. *porticus humiliores et obtectæ.*

ESSAY 46

p. 186 [5] Lat. *manus tantum sunt opera, nec sapiunt naturam.* [17] The Latin adds *buxus.* [19] Flagges: Lat. *virides quoad folia.* [21] Lat. *juxta parietem et versus solem satus.* [23] Lat. *arbustum chamæleæ germanicæ sive mezereonis.*

p. 187 [20] The French Mary-gold: omitted in the Latin. [26] The Latin adds *flos cyaneus*, the corn blue-bottle.

p. 188 [3] Lat. *Rosæ seræ.* [4—7] In two copies of the edition of 1625 the following sentence is substituted: "Thus, if you will, you may haue the Golden Age againe, and a Spring all the yeare long." It is evident that this is a later alteration by Bacon himself, for on comparing the page on which it occurs with the same page in other copies of the same edition, it will be seen that, though the first and last lines of the page are the same in all, yet in consequence of the substituted sentence being shorter than the original one, the copies which contain it have the following paragraph printed much more loosely in order to make it spread over the page. [6] Virg. *Georg.* II. 149. [8] Comp. *Hist. Vitæ et Mortis*, V. 31. [11] The Latin adds *quæ ex odore florum percipitur.* [12] Lat. *quæ adhuc crescentes, nec avulsæ, maxime emittent auras suaves, et aerem odore perfundunt.* [14] Lat. *odoris sui sunt tenaces nec aerem tingunt.* [23] Lat. *sub finem Augusti.* See *Hist. Vitæ et Mortis*, I. 57. [25] Lat. *quæ halitum emittunt plane cardiacum.* The edition of 1625 reads 'which,' and this in 1629 was altered into 'with:' 'which yeeld' is probably the true reading. [31—33] Lat. *tum cariophyllatæ, tam minores quam majores.*

p. 189 [1] The Latin adds, *tum lavendulæ flores.* [25] Lat. *hortum præcipuum.*

p. 190 [1, 2] on that Side, which the *Garden* stands: omitted in the Latin.

p. 191 [5] like Welts: Lat. *instar fimbriarum.* [6] Lat. *in aliquibus locis sparsas, sepibus vestitas.* [20] Lat. *stagna et piscinæ exulent.* [24] The Latin adds *cum crateribus suis.* [29] Lat. *ut perpetuo fluat, nec consistat.* [34] The Latin adds *ut maneat limpida.*

p. 192 [19] The Latin adds *campanarum* after 'Canopies;' and again, after the bracket, *etiam rupes artificiosas et hujusmodi.* [25] The Latin adds, *nisi quod in aliquibus locis, erigi præcipio arborum series, quæ in vertice ambulacra contineant, ramis arborum cooperta cum fenestris. Subjaceat autem pars soli floribus odoris suavis abunde consita, qui auras in superius exhalent; alias fruticetum apertum esse sine arboribus velim.* [28] Lat. *fragis præcipue.* [29—32] Lat. *Dumeta autem, et ambulacra super arbores, spargi volumus ad placitum, non ordine aliquo collocari.*

p. 193 [6] Low: omitted in the Latin. [33] Lat. *ne succo defraudent arbores.*

p. 194 [16] The Latin adds *vernas et autumnales.* [24] The Latin adds *Quantum vero ad ambulacra in clivis, et variis ascensibus amœnis conficienda, illa naturæ dona sunt, nec ubique extrui possunt: nos autem ea posuimus, quæ omni loco conveniunt.* [31] Lat. *varia, parum cum judicio, componunt.*

ESSAY 47

First published in 1597; enlarged in 1612, and again in 1625.

p. 195 [7, 8] added in 1612, but omitted in the MS. of that edition. [9] 'breedes' (1597). [10—15] Or in tender Cases..Expound: added in 1612. [11] Lat. *in vultum et gestum alterius intentus.* [12] he: 'one' (1612).

p. 196 [1—12] Use also..Prescription: added in 1625. [7] Lat. *ad res quæ aliquid iniqui habent transigendas.* [17] that: 'which' (1597, 1612). [29] Pretext: the printed copies of the ed. of 1597 have 'precept,' but the MS. printed in the Appendix reads 'pretext.' [32] Perswade: 'winne' (1597). Weaknesse: 'weaknesses' (1597). and: 'or' (1612). [34] and so Governe him: so the ed. of 1597, but ed. of 1612 has 'them.'

p. 197 [4—end] In all..Degrees: added in 1625.

ESSAY 48

First published in 1597; enlarged in 1612, and again in 1625. The Latin title is *De Clientibus, famulis, et amicis.*

p. 198 [6] *Followers:* 'following' (1597), but 'followers' in the MS. [9] Wrongs: 'wrong' (1597). Lat. *clientes autem et amici factiosi.* [15—20] Likewise..Envie: added in the ed. of 1612, but omitted in the MS. of that edition. [15—17] who..Follow: added in 1625. [17] Inconvenience: 'inconueniency' (1612). [20] The Latin adds *si quis vere rem reputet.* [21]—p. 199 [4] There is..Tales: added in 1625.

p. 199 [3] The Latin adds *apud dominos suos.* [5] of *Men:* added in 1625. [13] apprehendeth: 'intendeth' MS. of ed. of 1597. [17—19] And besides..Vertuous: added in 1625. [19] It is true that: omitted in 1612. [22] Lat. *quandoquidem ordinis paritas æquas gratiæ conditiones tanquam ex debito poscit.* [23] contrariwise: added in 1625. [24] Favour: 'fauours' (1597). Lat. *prodest cum delectu afficere.* [28] Discretion: added in 1625. [30] Lat. *fingi (quod aiunt) et regi ab amico aliquo.* as we call it: added in 1625. [31] safe: 'good' (1597, 1612). [31]—p. 200 [2] For it shewes..Honour: added in 1625.

p. 200 [2] Yet: 'and' (1597, 1612). Lat. *plurium potestati subjici et veluti in partes distrahi.* [3—5] For it makes..Change: added in 1625. [4] The Latin translator seems to have imagined that the metaphor is taken from the printing-press, for he renders *postremæ (ut nunc loquuntur) editionis.* But a passage in the *Adv. of L.* II. 22, § 4, shews what Bacon intended: "A Man shall find in the wisest sort of these Relations, which the Italians make touching *Conclaues,* the Natures of the seuerall Cardinalls, handsomlye and liuely painted fourth: A man shall meete with in euery dayes Conference the denominations *of Sensitiue, dry, formall, reall, humorous, certayne, Huomo di Prima impressione, Huomo di vltima impressione,* and the like." [5] 'but to take aduise' (1597, 1612), some few: added in 1612. [6] *Adv. of L.* II. 21, § 7. [7] The Latin adds *ut adagio dicitur.* [10] The Latin adds *apud veteres.*

ESSAY 49

First published in 1597, slightly enlarged in 1612, and again in 1625.

p. 201 [1] and Proiects: added in 1625. [2, 3] And..Good: added in 1625. [4] Bad: 'ill' (1597, 1612). [4—6] I meane..Performance: added in 1625. [6] Lat. *recipiunt et operam avide pollicentur.* [10—12] Or at least..Hopes: added in 1612. [15] 'an apt precept' (1597): but the MS. has 'apt pretext.' [16—18] Or generally..their owne: added in 1625. [22] some: added in 1625.

p. 202 [12—14] But let him..Nose: added in 1625. [24] Lat. *hoc ei fraudi non sit, sed potius remuneretur.* [25] but the Partie left to his other Meanes: added in 1612. [25, 26] and..Discoverie: added in 1625. [34] *Sute:* 'suits' (1597, 1612).

p. 203 [3—16] Let a man..Favour: added in 1612. [10] Quint. *Inst. Or.* IV. 5, 16. [19—22] There are no worse..Proceedings: added in 1625.

ESSAY 50

First published in 1597; enlarged in 1612, and again in 1625. The Latin title is *De studiis et lectione librorum.*

p. 204 [1, 2] Lat. *Studia et lectiones librorum aut meditationum voluptati, aut orationis ornamento, aut negotiorum subsidio inserviunt.* The MS. of the ed. of 1612 has, "Studies serve for Pastymes, for ornaments, and for abillityes: Theire chiefe use for pastyme, is," &c. [1] Delight: 'pastime' (1597), 'pastimes' (MS.). [4] Lat. *in sermone tam familiari quam solenni.* [5] the: added in 1625. and Disposition of Businesse: added in 1625. [6—9] 'For expert men can execute, but learned men are fittest to iudge or censure' (1597, 1612). [10] *Studies:* 'them' (1625). Lat. *speciosa quædam socordia est.* [12] After 'Affectation' the Latin adds *quæ seipsam prodit.* [13] The Latin adds *nec bene succedit.* [14—18] For Naturall Abilities..experience: added in 1625. [19] Contemne: the ed. of 1597 has 'continue,' but the MS. rightly reads 'contemne.' *Studies:* 'them' (1597, 1612).

p. 205 [1] and Confute: added in 1625. [3, 4] and Take..Discourse: added in 1625. [3] Lat. *sed ut addiscas, ponderes, et judicio tuo aliquatenus utaris.* [5] Lat. *sunt quos deglutire cursimque legere oportet.* [8] not Curiously: 'cursorily' (1597). [10—15] Some *Bookes*..Flashy Things: added in 1625. [14] Bacon censures Ramus for "introducing the Canker of *Epitomes.*" *Adv. of L.* II. 17, § 11. [15—17] In a tract published in 1596, dedicated by Edward Monings to the Countess of Warwick, and reprinted by Nichols (*Progresses of Q. Eliz.* III. 394, ed. 1823), we find an instance of the plagiarism of which Bacon complains in the dedication of his first edition of the Essays in 1597: "His education prince-like; generally knowen in all things, and excellent in many, seasoning his grave and more important studies for ability in judgment, with studies of pastime for retiring, as in poetrie, musike, and the mathemitikes: and for ornament in discourse, in the languages, French, Italian, and English, wherein he is expert, *reading* much, *conferring* and *writting* much. He is a *full man*, a *readie man*, an *exact man.*" [16] Lat. *scriptio autem,*

et notarum collectio, perlecta in animo imprimit et altius figit. [25] Contend: in the ed. of 1597 and the MS. of the ed. of 1612 the Essay ends here. Ovid, *Her.* xv. 83; quoted again in *Adv. of L.* I. 3, § 4. [30] Lat. *sagittatio.* [32] See *Adv. of L.* II. 8, § 3, where Bacon says of the mathematics, "if the wit bee to dull, they sharpen it: if to wandring, they fix it: if to inherent in the sense, they abstract it." And again, II. 19, § 2; "If a Child be Bird-witted, that is, hath not the facultie of attention, the Mathematiques giueth a remedy thereunto; for in them, if the witte be caught away but a moment, one is new to begin."
[34]—p. 206 [1] For in Demonstrations..again: added in 1625.
p. 206 [3] For they are *Cymini Sectores;* added in 1625. [4] See *Adv. of L.* I. 7, § 7; Antoninus Pius "was called *Cymini Sector,* a caruer, or diuider of Comine seede, which is one of the least seedes: such a patience hee had and setled spirite, to enter into the least and most exact differences of causes." Dio Cass. LXX. 3. Lat. *si quis ad transcursus ingenii segnis sit.* [5, 6] to call..another: 'to find out resemblances' (1612).

ESSAY 51

First published in 1597, slightly enlarged in 1612, and again much more in 1625.
p. 207 [1] an Opinion not wise: 'a newe wisedome, indeede a fond opinion' (1597). [4] Respect: 'respects' (1597), but 'respect' in MS. a: 'the' (1597, 1612). [8] Lat. *vel in palpandis, conciliandis, et tractandis singulis.* [13] Lat. *jampridem honorem adeptis.* [16] Lat. *ut videatur quis alteri ex partibus addictus, et tamen parti adversæ minime odiosus, viam quandam sternit ad honores, per medium factionum.* [17] 'passablest' (1597, 1612). [20—22] And it is often..Moderate: added in 1625.
p. 208 [1] After 'Subdivideth' the ed. of 1597 adds 'which is good for a second faction;' the ed. of 1612 has 'which is good for a second.' [1—19] As the *Faction.*.out of use: added in 1625. [5] Senates: Lat. *senatus et optimatum.* [22, 23] added in 1625. [27] In ed. of 1597 and the MS. of the ed. of 1612 the Essay ends here. [27]—p. 209 [1] The Even Carriage..House: added in 1612. [29] Lat. *sed a consilio callido, quandoquidem proximus sibi quisque sit, atque ex utrâque factione utilitatem demetere speret.* [33] be: added in 1625.
p. 209 [1] House: the Essay ends here in the ed. of 1612. [2] Comp. Essay xv. p. 55. [7] Gen. iii. 22.

ESSAY 52

First published in 1597; enlarged in 1612, and again in 1625. The Latin title is *De cærimoniis civilibus, et decoro.*
p. 210 [3] to: added in 1612. [4—6] 'But commonly it is in praise as it is in gaine' (1597, 1612). [6] 'For as' (1597, 1612). [7] Entered in the *Promus,* fol. 7 *a.* [9] 'So it is as true' (1597). [13] Festi-

vals: 'holy-daies' (1597, 1612). [13—16] Therefore..*Formes:* added in 1625. [14] The Latin adds *regina Castiliana.* [15] See *Apoph. Hisp. collecta a Ger. Tuningio,* 1609; "La reyna doña Ysabel dezia que el que tenia buen gesto llevara carta de recomendacion." Compare also Publii Syri *Sent.; formosa facies muta commendatio est.* [16] them: 'good formes' (1597, 1612). almost: added in 1625. [19] 'For if he care to expresse them' (1597, 1612). [20] lose; 'leese' (1597). [22] Lat. *vultus et gestus et externa alia.*

p. 211 [1] *Antith.* XXXIV; *qui animum ad tam exiles observationes applicat, magnæ cogitationis capax non est.* [5] 'diminish his respect' (1597); 'diminisheth respect' (1612). [7] Lat. *homines ingenio fastidioso.* Formall: 'strange' (1597). [7—14] But the dwelling..upon it: added in 1625. [8] Lat. *locutio plane hyperbolica (quali nonnulli utuntur).* [10] Lat. *fidem et pondus eorum quæ dicuntur.* [23] Lat. *ex comitate et urbanitate.* [30]—p. 212 [7] Men had need..findes: added in 1612, but omitted in the MS. [33] The Latin adds *urbanus tantum et affectator.* [34] *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 2; "there is no greater impediment of Action, then an ouercurious obseruance of decency, and the guide of decencye, which is Tyme and season. For as *Salomon* sayeth, *Qui respicit ad ventos, non seminat, & qui respicit ad nubes, non metet:* A man must make his opportunity, as ofte as finde it. To conclude; Behauiour seemeth to me as a Garment of the Minde, and to haue the Condicions of a Garmente. For it ought to bee made in fashion: it ought not to bee too curious: It ought to bee shaped so, as to sette foorthe anye good making of the minde: and hide any deformity; and aboue all, it ought not to be too straighte, or restrayned for exercise or mocion." This was published in 1605, and afterwards in substance transferred to the Essays in 1612 and 1625.

p. 212 [3] Eccl. xi. 4. [7—9] added in 1625.

Essay 53

First published in 1612; enlarged in 1625.

p. 213 [1] Lat. *atque, ut fit in speculis, trahit aliquid e naturâ corporis, quod reflexionem præbet.* [11] Tac. *Ann.* XV. 48. [13] The same is said of Time, Novum Organum, *Aph.* LXXI. [17] Eccl. vii. 1. [22] 'hold it suspect' (1612).

p. 214 [4] Comp. Ess. x. p. 37, l. 12. [15] Apparently referring to Pliny, *Ep.* III. 18; *Nam præcipere qualis esse debeat princeps, pulchrum quidem, sed onerosum ac prope superbum est: laudare vero optimum principem, ac per hoc posteris, velut e speculâ, lumen quod sequantur ostendere, idem utilitatis habet, adrogantiæ nihil.* [19] Tac. *Agr.* 41. [20—24] In so much..*lye:* added in 1625. [21] Comp. Theocr. *Id.* IX. 30, XII. 24. [26] After 'Vulgar' the ed. of 1612 has 'but appropriate.' [27] Prov. xxvii. 14. [31] Scorne: in the ed. of 1612 the Essay ends here.

p. 215 [6] The Latin adds *Hispanico vocabulo.* [7—11] Lat. *ac si artes illæ memoratæ, magis ejusmodi homines quam in fastigio cardinalatus positos decerent: et tamen (si res rite ponderetur) specu-*

lativa cum civilibus non male miscentur. [12] 2 Cor. xi. 23. [13] Rom. xi. 13.

Essay 54

First published in 1612; enlarged in 1625.

p. 216 [6] if they have never so little Hand in it: added in 1625. [13] '*& peu*' (1612). [18] Livy, xxxvii. 48. [21]—p. 217 [6] 'as if a man that should interpose himselfe to negotiate between two, should to either of them seuerally pretend, more interest then he hath in the other' (1612).

p. 217 [6] these: 'this' (1612). [7] Kindes: 'kind' (1612). [10—13] In Militar..another: added in 1625. [17—22] In Fame.. *Ostentation:* added in 1625. [19] Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 15. [21] The Latin translation adds, *inquit ille*, and after '*Galen*,' *magna nomina.* [23—25] Lat. *Neque virtus ipsa tantum humanæ naturæ debet propter nominis sui celebrationem quantum sibi ipsi.* [27] Lat. *ad hunc diem vix durasset aut saltem non tam vegeta.* [28] Lat. *vanitate et jactantia.* [33] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 80; see *Adv. of L.* ii. 23, § 25.

p. 218 [1] 'of a natural magnanimity' (1612). [2] The Latin adds *qui naturâ veluti comparati ad eam sunt.* [10] Pliny, *Epist.* vi. 17. [16—19] *Glorious* Men..Vaunts: added in 1625. [18] Lat. *parasitis prædæ et escæ, sibimet ipsis et gloriæ vanæ mancipia.*

Essay 55

First published in the ed. of 1597; omitted in the ed. of 1612, though contained in the MS. of that edition, and again printed with additions in 1625. It had been previously printed in the pirated editions of John Jaggard in 1612, 1613, and of Elizabeth Jaggard in 1624. It is also in the Italian translation published in 1618.

p. 219 [1] The MS. has "The true wynning of honour," and this is probably the correct reading, for the Latin gives, *Honoris et existimationis vera et jure optimo acquisitio ea est.* [4] Wooe and: added in 1625. [7] contrariwise: added in 1625. [14] The MS., after 'Follower,' adds; "If a man consider wherein others have given distast, and wynne honor vpon theire envye, the beame will be the quicker." [15] Lat. *ita inter se committat et contemperet.* [18] Comp. Suet. *Aug.* 25, where the same maxim is attributed to Augustus. [21]—p. 220 [5] *Honour*..Bowe: added in 1625. [21] Lat. *qui comparativus est, et alium prægravat.*

p. 220 [1] *instar adamantis aut carbunculi.* [6] The Latin adds *Ita Q. Cicero.* See Q. Cic. *de petit. consul.* v. 17; quoted again in *Adv. of L.* ii. 23, § 15. The quotation was added in 1625. [14] *Imperiorum:* added in 1625, [15] and *Common-Wealths*.. *Ismael:* added in 1625. [21—23] Such..*Siete Partidas:* added in 1625. [22] "*Alphonso* the *Wise*, (the ninth of that Name,) *King* of *Castile*, compiled the *Digest* of the *Lawes* of *Spaine*, Intituled the *Siete Partidas;* An excellent Worke, which he finished in seuen

years." Bacon's *Misc. Works*, p. 150, ed. Rawley, 1629. The above is from a tract *Of a digest to be made of the lawes of England.* [24] or *Salvatores:* added in 1625. The Latin adds *patriarum suarum.* [27—29] As *Augustus Cæsar..France:* added in 1625. [34] Suet. *Tib.* 67.

p. 221 [1—3] Both which..Number: added in 1625. [10] Lat. *qui non ultra hoc potes sunt.* [15—20] There is an *Honour..Decij:* added in 1625.

ESSAY 56

First published in 1612; enlarged in 1625. The Latin title is *De Officio Judicis.*

•p. 222 [3] *Antith.* XLVI; *Cum receditur a literâ, judex transit in legislatorem.* [4] 'like the presumption of the Church of *Rome*' (1612). [6] 'vsurpeth and practiseth an authority to adde and alter' (1612). [8] *Shew:* 'colour' (1612). [13] Deut. xxvii. 17. [15] Lat. *lapidem fines distinguentem.* In Bacon's Speech "to Justice Hutton, when he was called to be one of the Judges of the Common Pleas," one of the "Lines and Portraitures" which he gave was, "That you contain the *jurisdiction* of the *Court* within the ancient *Meere-Stones*, without Removing the Mark." *Resuscitatio*, p. 94, ed. 1657. [15] 'too blame' (1612). [22] Prov. xxv. 26; comp. *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 5.

p. 223 [7] Amos v. 7. [13] 'the more open' (1612); 'the more close' (1612). [18] Is. xl. 4. [25] Prov. xxx. 33. [26] "But *Lawes* are likened to the *Grape*, that being too much pressed yields an hard and unwholsome Wine." *Resuscitatio*, p. 176.

p. 224 [1] Ps. xi. 6. "There is a Wise and Learned *Civilian*, that applies the *Curse* of the *Prophet*, *Pluet super eos Laqueos*, To *Multiplicity* of *Lawes;* For they do but ensnare and entangle the *People.*" *Resuscitatio*, p. 98. [3—9] Therefore *Rerum, &c.:* added in 1625. [8] Ovid, *Trist.* I. I. 37. [15, 16] Secondly..*Plead:* added in 1625. [18] Ps. cl. 5, Pr. Bk. Bacon in his Speech to Justice Hutton, quoted above, admonishes him; "That you affect not the *opinion* of Pregnancy and *Expedition*, by an impatient and Catching Hearing of the *Counsellours* at the Barre." p. 93. [22] 'counsell or euidence' (1612). [24] in Hearing: added in 1625. [27] The Latin adds *advocatorum et testium.*

p. 225 [4] Jam. iv. 6. [6] 'that the custome of the time doth warrant Iudges to haue noted fauourites' (1612). [9] Lat. *obliqui ad judices aditus.* [12] 'speciallie' (1612). [20—28] And let not..Place: added in 1625. [24] Lat. *causæ mediæ et nullatenus peroratæ.* [33] Matt. vii. 16.

p. 226 [27] 'Lastly' (1612): for that..*Estate*: added in 1625. [30] Not in the laws of the 12 Tables but in Cic. *de Leg.* III. 3, § 8.

p. 227 [18] Let *Iudges..Soveraigntie:* added in 1625. "It is proper in you, by all means, with your Wisdome and Fortitude to maintain the *Laws* of the *Realm:* Wherein, neverthelesse, I would not have you *Head-strong*, but *Heart-strong;* And to weigh and remember

with yourself, that the 12 Judges of the Realm are as the 12 *Lions* under *Salomon's Throne;* They must show their *Stoutnesse* in *Elevating* and *Bearing* up the *Throne.*" Bacon's Speech to Justice Hutton, *Resuscitatio*, p. 93. 1 Kings x. 20. [22] 'Neither ought Iudges to be so ignorant' (1612). [28] 1 Tim. i. 8, quoted from the Vulgate.

ESSAY 57

p. 228 [3] Eph. iv. 26. [18] Seneca, *De Irâ*, I. 1. [20] Luke xxi. 19.

p. 229 [3] Virg. *Georg.* IV. 238. [4] Lat. *res humilis est et infra dignitatem hominis.* [8] Lat. *caveant homines (si modo dignitatis suæ velint esse memores) ne iram suam cum metu eorum quibus irascuntur, sed cum contemptu conjungant.* [20] Lat. *si quis curiosus et perspicax sit, in interpretatione injuriæ illatæ, quatenus ad circumstantias ejus, ac si contemptum spiraret.* [27] Lat. *opinio contumeliæ, sive quod existimatio hominis per consequentiam lædatur et perstringatur, iram intendit et multiplicat.* [30] The same saying is related in the *Adv. of L.* II. 20, § 12; *Apoph.* 180, and in Bacon's Speech against Duels (pp. 28, 29, ed. 1614): "But for this apprehension of a disgrace, that a fillippe to the person should bee a mortall wound to the reputation, it were good that men did hearken vnto the saying of *Consaluo* the great and famous commaunder, that was wont to say; *A Gentlemans honor should bee, De telâ crassiore,* of a good strong warppe or webbe that euery little thing should not catch in it, when as now it seemes they are but of copwebbe lawne, or such light stuffe, which certainely is weaknesse, and not true greatnesse of mind, but like a sicke mans body, that is so tender that it feeles euery thing."

p. 230 [2] Lat. *sed instare quasi ad manum opportunitatem aliquam majorem.* [24] Lat. *tempora serena et ad hilaritatem prona.*

ESSAY 58

p. 231 [1] Eccl. i. 9. [3] Plato, *Phæd.* 72 E; *Meno*, 81 D. [8] Lat. *abstrusus et parum notus.* [19] Lat. *illæ populum penitus non absorbent, aut destruunt.* [20] Ovid, *Met.* II. [21] 1 Kings xvii, xviii.

p. 232 [1] Lat. *apud Indias Orientales.* [2] The Latin adds *pestilentias etiam prætereo quia nec illæ totaliter absorbent.* [9—25] See Acosta, *Hist. Nat. des Indes*, IV. 25, fol. 49, for an account of the tradition of a deluge among the West Indians. "Ils font entr'eux grande mention d'vn deluge auenu en leur pays, mais l'on ne peut pas bien iuger, si ce deluge est l'vniuersel, dont parle l'Escriture, ou si ç'a esté quelque autre deluge, ou inondation particuliere des regions où ils sont. Aucuns hommes experts, disent que l'on voit en ce pays là, plusieurs notables apparances de quelque grande inondation, & suis de l'opinion de ceux qui pensent que les vestiges & marques qu'il y a de ce deluge, ne sont de celui de Noé, mais de quelqu'autre particulier, comme de celuy que raconte Platon, ou celuy que les

Poetes chantent de Deucalion." [15] Plato, *Tim.* 25 D. [26] Machiavelli, *Disc. sopr. Liv.* II. 5. [28] Comp. *Adv. of L.* I. 6, § 12; Gibbon, c. XLV. [33] Sabinian succeeded Gregory as Pope, A.D. 604. [34] The Latin adds, *tunc vero prohibita, licet tenebris cooperta, obrepunt tamen et suas nanciscuntur periodos.*

p. 233 [3] Plato, *Tim.* 38, &c.; Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* II. 20. "The great yeare is a space of time in the which not onely all the Planets, but also all the fixed starres that are in the firmament, hauing ended all their reuolutions do returne againe to the selfe same places in the heauens, which they had at the first beginning of the world." Blundevile's *Exercises*, fol. 168 *a*, ed. 1594. [17] The Latin adds, *tempestatis anni, semitæ aut cursus.*

p. 234 [6] give stay: Lat. *moras injicere aut remedia exhibere.*

p. 235 [19] The Gauls crossed the Hellespont B.C. 278. [24] Lat. *naturâ fixi.*

p. 236 [2] The Latin adds, *ut liquet in populo Araucensi, qui ad ulteriora Austri positi omnibus Peruviensibus fortitudine longe præcellunt.* [9] Lat. *aliis gentibus in prædam cadunt.* [21] The Latin adds *sed civiliores fere sunt.* [25] Lat. *at inundationibus aut migrationibus.* [30] Lat. *et novas sedes quærant, et sic alias nationes invadant.* See the Tract *Of the true Greatnesse of the Kingdom of Britain* (Bacon's *Works*, VII. 57, ed. Spedding).

p. 237 [9] The Latin adds *tempore Alexandri Magni.* Bacon's memory seems to have been at fault for this statement. I have been unable to discover anything which could have suggested it. [12] Lat. *usum pulveris pyrii et tormentorum igneorum.* [20] The Latin adds *id quod etiam tormentis igneis majoribus competit.* [34] *Adv. of L.* II. 10, § 11: "For as it hath beene well obserued, that the Arts which florish in times, while vertue is in growth, are *Militarie:* and while vertue is in State are *Liberall:* and while vertue is in declination, are *voluptuarie:* so I doubt, that this age of the world, is somewhat vpon the descent of the wheele."

p. 238 [8] Lat. *solidiores et exactiores.* [9] The Latin adds *manente tamen garrulitate.*

The Essay "Of Fame" was first printed by Rawley in the *Resuscitatio*, in 1657.

p. 239 [8—18] Comp. Virg. *Æn.* IV. 175—190. [19] Comp. Essay XV. p. 55.

p. 240 [17] Tac. *Hist.* II. 80. [22] Cæsar, *de Bell. Civ.* I. 6. [28] Taç. *Ann.* I. 5.

p. 241 [2] Her. VIII. 108, 109.

COLOUR 1

p. 247 [10] Cic. *Acad. apud* Augustin. *c. Acad.* III. 7.

COLOUR 3

p. 249 [29] Hor. *Sat.* I. 1. 66. [31, 32] From the Latin translation of

Theocr. *Id.* XXVII. 69, by Eobanus Hessus. The Greek is ὄμμασιν αἰδόμενα, κραδία δ' οἱ ἔνδον ἰάνθη.

p. 250 [4] Pythagoras, *Aur. Vers.* v. 12; πάντων δὲ μάλιστ' αἰσχύνεο σαύτον. [10] The ed. of 1597 has 'a low,' of 1598 'Alow,' which in later editions was corrupted into 'a law.' [27] accounted: 'recounted' (1598, 1606). [30] as spurres: 'the spurres' (1598, 1606).

COLOUR 4

p. 251 [9] Æsop, *Fab.* 38; quoted again in *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 36. This same fable of the frogs is applied by Selden to marriage. See *Table Talk.*

p. 252 [10] Livy, IV. 28.

COLOUR 5

p. 254 [5] or flowers: 'as flowers' (1598, 1606). [22] Luke x. 41. [31] The original, quoted by Zenodotus from Archilochus, is πολλ' οἶδ' ἀλώπηξ, ἀλλ' ἐχῖνος ἓν μέγα. Bacon found the Latin in Erasmus' *Adagia*, from which he transferred it to the *Promus*, fol 18 *a*. [17] Æsop, *Fab.* 52.

COLOUR 6

p. 256 [17] ἅλις δρυός, *Adagia*, p. 597. In the *Promus*, fol. 19 *b*, we find, "Satis quercus, Enough of acornes." [32] Æsop, *Fab.* 50.

p. 257 [18] Virg. *Æn.* x. 450.

COLOUR 7

p. 258 [3] assimilate: 'assimulate' (1597); corrected in 1598. [6] Arist. *Meteor.* I. 12. Compare Blundevile's *Exercises*, fol. 179 *b*, ed. 1594. "Next to the Fire is the Aire which is an Element hotte and moyst, & also most fluxible, pure & cleare, notwithstãding it is farre thicker & grosser as some say, towards the Poles thē elsewhere, by reason that those parts are farthest from the sun: And this Element is deuided of the naturall Philosophers into three Regions, that is to say, the highest Region, the Middle Region, and the lowest Region, which highest Region being turned about by the fire, is thereby made the hotter, wherein all fierie impressions are bredde, as lightnings, fire drakes, blazing starres and such like.

The middle Region is extreame cold by contra opposition by reason that it is placed in the midst betwixt two hotte Regions, and therefore in this Region are bred all cold watry impressions, as frost, snow, ice, haile, and such like.

The lowest Region is hotte by the reflexe of the sunne, whose beames first striking the earth, doe rebound backe againe to that Region wherein are bred cloudes, dewes, raynes, and such like mode-

[illegible]
Apoph. 244.

p. 259 [18] Ovid, *Ars Am.* II. 662, quoted again in *Adv. of L.* II. 23,

§ 27. *proximitate:* '*procinitate*' (1597); corrected in 1598. [25] Matt. ix. 12.

COLOUR 8

p. 260 [10] Virg. *Æn.* XII. 600. *malorum:* '*malum*' (1597); corrected in 1598. [21] hurt: 'hart' (1597); corrected in 1598. [24] Virg. *Ecl.* v. 23. [34] See the 1st and 3rd *Philippics.*

p. 261 [12] *Enchiridion,* c. 5. [21] Ovid, *Am.* I. 2. 10.

p. 262 [1] Essay VIII. p. 28.

COLOUR 9

p. 262 [31] Hab. i. 15, 16.

p. 263 [5] Cic. *pro Marcell.* 9. [11] In the *De Augm.* VI. 3, *Soph.* 11, Bacon attributes this to Solomon. See Mr Spedding's note (*Works,* I. p. 685). [23] Plut. *Cæs.* 38. [30, 33] In both lines the ed. of 1597 has 'imitable,' but in the corresponding passage of the *De Augmentis* the Latin is in one case *inimitabilis,* and in the other *imitationem non recipiunt,* and I have therefore substituted 'inimitable' in both.

p. 264 [7] Plut. *Timol.* 36. See Essay XL. p. 167.

COLOUR 10.

p. 264 [28] Virg. *Ecl.* I. 15. [29] *Sybilla:* see Essay XXI. p. 89.

p. 265 [6] 'it is more to him' (1598, 1606). [13] Quoted by Seneca, *Ep.* I. 1, § 5, and introduced with the words 'ut visum est majoribus nostris.' The original is Hesiod, *Works & Days,* 367, δειλὴ δ' ἐνὶ πυθμένι φειδώ. [16] Arist. *de Gen. et Corr.* I. 4. *alterius:* 'vlterius' (1597); corrected in 1598. [19] The origin of this is a passage in Dem. *Ol.* III. 33, which Wolf translates *alimenta sunt vestrum omnium socordiæ.* See Mr Ellis's note on the *De Augmentis,* with Mr Spedding's addition (*Works,* I. 681, 682). [22] aliments: the editions of 1597, 1598, and 1606, all read 'elements,' but Bacon quotes the Latin when again referring to the passage, *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 13, *alimenta socordiæ.* [25] One copy of the ed. of 1597 in the Cambridge Univ. Libr. (XVII. 38. 19) omits the words 'to say;' 'the' was added in 1598. Bacon made a memorandum of the anecdote in the *Promus,* fol. 46 *a*: "The fashion of d. Hect. to the dames of London y^e way is to be sicker."

p. 266 [10] Hor. *Ep.* I. 2. 40. Comp. Arist. *Nic. Eth.* I. 7; ἀρχὴ ἥμισυ παντός; Plato *de Legg.* VI. 753 E; Hesiod, *Works & Days,* 40. [24] *modum:* added in ed. of 1598. [27, 28] for..inception: added in 1598.

p. 267 [12] 'other' in ed. 1597; 'otherwise' (1598, 1606).

APPENDIX.

p. 279 [20] men: omitted in the MS.

APPENDIX TO THE NOTES.

In preparing the present edition I have used ten different copies of the edition of 1625, the last which had the benefit of Bacon's own revision. Of these ten copies no two are exactly alike. The differences are numerous, though, except in one case, not important; but, as they throw light upon the manner in which books passed through the press in Bacon's time, I have subjoined a list of all that I have noticed. The cause of these differences it is not difficult to conjecture. Corrections were made while the sheets were being printed off, and the corrected and uncorrected sheets were afterwards bound up indiscriminately. In this way the number of different copies might be multiplied to any extent. Instances occur in which a sheet appears in three different stages: one with two errata on one page, a second with one of the errata corrected, and a third with both corrected. Another peculiarity with regard to these copies is that they differ in the title page. Upon examination it appears that the original title page was as follows: "The Essayes or Covnsels, civill and morall, of Francis Lo. Vervlam, Viscovnt St. Alban. Newly enlarged. London, Printed by Iohn Haviland for Hanna Barret, and Richard Whitaker, and are to be sold at the signe of the Kings head in Pauls Church-yard. 1625." That this is the original is evident from the fact that it corresponds with the entry in the books of Stationers' Hall, and also from a memorandum in a copy of the Essays in the Cambridge Univ. Libr. (XVII. 36. 14), "Jo: Finch 30° Martij. 1625 ex dono Authoris." The date of presentation was as early as it could well be in the year in which the book was published. Besides, on examining the copies which have the other title page, it is evident that it has been inserted. It is as follows: "The Essayes or Covnsels, civill and morall, of Francis Lo. Vervlam, Viscovnt St. Alban. Newly written. London, Printed by Iohn Haviland for Hanna Barret. 1625." From this it would seem as if the whole of the stock had come into Barret's hands, by some means or other, and that she cancelled the old title page and had a new one printed. I shall speak of these as the first and second title pages. The numbers attached to the following description of the ten copies to which I have referred, correspond with those given with the various readings. The first four have the *second* title page:

1. A copy in the British Museum, referred to by Mr Spedding.
2. In the Library of Trin. Coll. Cambridge (T. 2. 1).
3. In the Cambridge Univ. Libr. (XVII. 36. 15).
8. In the Library of Christ's College, Cambridge (M. 1. 6).

The following have the first title page:

4. Mr Spedding's own copy.
5. A copy in the Cambridge Univ. Libr. (XVII. 36. 14).

6. 7. In the Library of St John's College, Cambridge (Bw. 7. 32; Ee. 1. 50).

9. In the Library of Christ's College, Cambridge (M. 1. 5).

10. Another copy in the possession of Mr Spedding, of which he kindly sent me the readings while the present sheet was passing through the press.

The numbers of the pages refer to the pages of these copies which are the same throughout. Of the two readings I suppose the second to be the correction of the first.

p. 25 [12] Encourageth (3)—encourageth (1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10).

p. 28 [2] to Knowledge (3)—to the Knowledge (1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10).

p. 29 [4] both; (3)—both, (1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10). [10] Silence; (3)—Silence, (1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10). [13] secret (3)—*secret* (1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10).

p. 39 [8] mary (2. 4)—marry (1. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10).

p. 79 [12] Opinion: (1. 8. 10)—Opinion:) (2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9).

p. 115 [6] Child (2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7)—Children (1. 8. 9. 10) [16] *The Counsellour Salomon* (2. 3. 4. 6. 7)—*The Counsellour. Salomon* (1. 5. 8. 9. 10).

p. 121 [10] bould (4)—bold (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10). [11] Consort (4)—Consort, (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10). [12] obnoxius (4)—obnoxious (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10). [13] both; (4)—both: (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10). [20] Life, (4)—Life (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10). [22] Persons (4)—*Persons* (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10). [23] Persons (4)—*Persons* (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10).

p. 124 [1] Counsellours (4)—*Counsellours* (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10).

p. 125 [2] times (4)—times, (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10). [9] Occasion (4)—*Occasion* (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10). [17] Things; (4)—Things. (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10). [20] dangers (4)—Dangers (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10).

p. 131 [8] Words; (4)—Words, (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10).

p. 137 [24] those which, (2. 4)—those, which (1. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10).

p. 146 [7] Certainly (1. 3. 7. 8. 9. 10)—certainly (2. 4. 5. 6).

p. 147 [1] Light: (1. 3. 7. 8. 9. 10)—Light; (2. 4. 5. 6). [6] of that (1. 3. 7. 8. 9. 10)—of that, (2. 4. 5. 6). [23] difference (1. 3. 7. 8. 9. 10)—Difference (2. 4. 5. 6).

p. 150 [1] Scicilian (1. 3. 7. 8. 9. 10)—Sicilian (2. 4. 5. 6). [7] and Faces (1. 3. 7. 8. 9. 10)—And Faces (2. 4. 5. 6).

p. 151 [6] *Flower* of *Sulphur* (1. 3. 7. 8. 9. 10)—*Flowers* of *Sulphur* (2. 4. 5. 6). [9] Friend (1. 3. 7. 8. 9. 10)—*Frend* (2. 4. 5. 6). [16] *Friendship* (1. 3. 7. 8. 9. 10)—*Frendship* (2. 4. 5. 6).

p. 163 [7] of (4. 6. 8)—off (1. 2. 3. 5. 7. 9. 10).

p. 170 [6] Arcenalls, (4. 9)—Arcenalls (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10).

p. 171 [6] enow (4. 9)—enough (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10).

p. 174 [22] *Yeomanry* (4. 9)—*Yeomanry,* (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10).

p. 175 [8] enough (4. 9)—enough, (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10).

p. 201 [19] Drugs, and, (1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10)—Drugs, and (7).

p. 202 [8] Seruice (1. 2. 4. 7)—Seruice, (3. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10). [12] Number; (1. 2. 4. 7)—Number: (3. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10).

p. 203 [20] amisse: (1. 2. 4. 7)—amisse. (3. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10).
p. 206 [17] Leave (3. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10)—leave (1. 2. 4. 7).
p. 233 [6] Haltar (2. 4. 7)—Halter (1. 3. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10).
p. 234 [17) seeds (1. 3. 6. 8. 9. 10)—Seeds (2. 4. 5. 7).
p. 235 [3] *Fortune.* (1. 3. 6. 8. 9. 10)—*Fortune:* (2. 4. 5. 7).
p. 236 [11] attentiuely, hee (2. 4. 7)—Attentiuely, he (1. 3. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10).
p. 237 [17] Wise Men (2. 4. 7)—Wise Men, (1. 3. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10). Enuie (2. 4. 7)—Enuy (1. 3. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10). [18] a scribe (4)—ascribe (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10).
p. 240 [7] Baukes (2. 4. 7)—Bankes (1. 3. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10). [15] with that, (2. 4. 7)—with that (1. 3. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10). [16] are. (2. 4. 7)—are: (1. 3. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10). [18] Vsury (2. 4. 7)—*Vsury* (1. 3. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10). (20) part (2. 4. 7)—Part (1. 3. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10).
p. 241 [3] decay (2. 4. 9)—Decay (1. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10). [9] Gaine (4. 9) —Game (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10). [21] Ruin (4. 9)—Ruine (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10). [last line] *are* (4. 9)—are (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10).
p. 244 [10] *Vsury* (4. 9)—*Vsury,* (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10).
p. 245 [14] Money. (4. 9)—Money: (1. 2. 3. 5 6. 7. 8. 10).
p. 248 [7] to Inuent (4. 9)—to Inuent, (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10). [17] beene done (4. 9)—beene done, (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10). [21] Ende (4)—End (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10). [last line] drawes (4)—draws (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10).
p. 250 [15] dispositions (1. 2. 3. 4. 6. 7. 8. 10)—Dispositions (5. 9). [19] *Hortentius* (1. 2. 3. 4. 6. 7. 8. 10)—*Hortensius* (5. 9).
p. 251 [2] surely (1. 2. 3. 4. 6. 7. 8. 10)—surely, (5. 9). [6] dignity (1. 2. 3. 4. 6. 7. 8. 10)—Dignity (5. 9). [13] Vertue; (1. 2. 3. 4. 6. 7. 8. 10) —Vertue. (5. 9).
p. 266 [3] pleasure (1. 3. 8)—pleasures (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). [5] without which (1. 3. 8)—without which, (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10).
p. 267 [3] Blene (1. 3. 8)—Blewe (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). [5] And (1. 3. 8. 9. 10)—& (2. 4. 5. 6. 7). stirred (1. 3. 8)—stooued (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). [10] Anemonies (1. 3. 8)—Anemones (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). [12] Camaïris (1. 3. 8)—Chamaïris (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). [13] There Come (1. 3. 8)—There come (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). [20] Couslip, (1. 3. 8)—Couslip; (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). [21] Daffadill, (1. 3. 8)—Daffadill; (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10).
p. 268 (269) [last line] Bullies (7. 9)—Bullises (1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. 10).
p. 269 (270) [9] Hand, therefore Nothing (7. 9)—hand, therfore nothing (1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. 10). [12] Damask and Red (7. 9)—Damask & Red (1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. 10). [13] Smelles (7. 9)—Smels (1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. 10). [18] Marioram (1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. 10)—Marioram. (7. 9). (Obs. Copies 7 & 9 differ from all others on this page for the reason given in note to p. 188).
p. 270 [8] Pinks (1. 3. 8)—Pincks, and Gilly-Flowers (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). [9] and Cloue (1. 3. 8)—& Cloue (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). [10] Lime Tree (1. 3. 8)—Lime tree (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). [11] Honny-Suckles (1. 3. 8)—Hony-Suckles (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). [17] Water-Mints, (1. 3. 8)—Water-Mints. (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10).
p. 271 [3] *Garden* (1. 3. 8)—*Maine Garden* (2 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). middest

(1. 3. 8)--midst (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). [7] side (1. 3. 8)—*Side* (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). [9] pleasures, (1. 3. 8)—pleasures; (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). [17] shade, (1. 3. 8)—shade (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10). [23] *Garden*, (1. 3. 8)—*Garden*. (2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10).

p. 272 (274) [12] let there be (7. 9)—let there bee (1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. 10). [14] And ouer euery *Arch*, and vpon the Vpper *Hedge*, ouer euery *Arch* (7. 9)—And vpon the *Vpper Hedge*, ouer euery *Arch* (1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. 10). [18] between (7. 9)—betweene (1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. 10).

p. 273 [15] into first, (4. 8. 9)—into, first (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 10). [17] *Images*, *Cut* (4. 8. 9)—*Images Cut* (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 10).

p. 274 [21] is (1. 3. 6. 10)—is, (2. 4. 5. 7. 8. 9).

p. 275 [7] Curiosity; and Beauty (1. 3. 6. 10)—Curiosity, and Beauty (2. 4. 5. 7. 8. 9). [14] Point, (1. 3. 6. 10)—Point (2. 4. 5. 7. 8. 9). [18] *Poole*. (1. 3. 6. 10)—*Poole*, (2. 4. 5. 7. 8. 9).

p. 276 [22] Conuallium, (4. 8. 9)—Conuallium; (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 10).

p. 277 [4] Beare-berries; ( ) (4. 8. 9)—Beare-berries (;) (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 10). [6] Goose-berry (4. 8. 9)—Goose-berries (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 10). [12] Shade: (4. 8. 9)—Shade; (1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 10).

p. 278 [6] Enclosure, (1. 3. 6. 10)—Enclosure (2. 4. 5. 7. 8. 9).

p. 284 [16] Commonly (1. 3. 6. 8. 10)—commonly (2. 4. 5. 7. 9).

p. 285 [12] Commonly (1. 3. 6. 8. 10)—commonly (2. 4. 5. 7. 9). [last line] Oddes (1. 3. 6. 8. 10)—Odds (2. 4. 5. 7. 9).

p. 286 [16] One Cannot (1. 2. 4. 6. 7. 10)—One cannot (3. 5. 8. 9).

p. 290 [2] mero (3. 7. 8)—more (1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 9. 10). [3] grwon (3. 7. 8)—grown (1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 9. 10). [12] Meanes (3. 7. 8)—Meanes; (1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 9. 10). [23] graunt (3)—grant (1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10). [24] those which (3. 7. 8)—those, which (1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 9. 10).

p. 291 [1] chuse (3)—choose (1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10).

p. 294 [22] again; (3. 7. 8)—again: (1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 9. 10). [24] difference (3. 7. 8)—differences (1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 9. 10).

p. 295 [3] *Cases;* (3. 7. 8)—*Cases:* (1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 9. 10).

p. 309 [18] Commanders aud Soldiers (1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10).

p. 313 [15] *Reputation*. (1. 2. 3. 4. 7. 8. 9)—*Reputation:* (5. 6. 10).

p. 328 [8] *breake* (1. 3. 7. 8)—*break* (2. 4. 5. 6. 9. 10). *Fit* (1. 3. 7. 8)—*Fitt* (2. 4. 5. 6. 9. 10). [18] *Times*. When (3. 7. 8)—*Times*, when (1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 9. 10). [21] much. (1. 3. 7. 8)—much; (2. 4. 5. 6. 9. 10).

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Since writing the note on p. 188 [4-7] I have come to the conclusion that the sentence as it stands in the text is later than the shorter one which is found in some copies of the edition of 1625. My reason for this change of opinion is founded upon a more minute examination of the printing of that edition, which has convinced me that my former conclusion was wrong.

GLOSSARY.

A.

E = Essay, F = Essay of Fame, C = Colour.
v. i. = verb intransitive, *v. t.* = verb transitive, *v. refl.* = reflexive verb, *p. p.* = past participle.

A, AN. The use of 'a' or 'an' before words beginning with 'h' was not at all uniform in Bacon's time. For instance, we have E. iii. p. 9, l. 15, '*an* Heathen'; E. v. p. 16, l. 1, '*an* high speech'; E. vi. p. 20, l. 15, '*an* Habit'; E. vii. p. 24, l. 9, '*an* harmefull Errour'; E. xii. p. 45, l. 18, '*an* Hill'; E. xxxvi. p. 153, l. 1, '*an* Humour'; E. lvi. p. 225, l. 28, '*an* Hallowed Place'. So also '*an* usuall thing', F. p. 240, l. 32; '*an* whole age', E. xxxvi. p. 155, l. 21; '*an* Eunuch', E. ix. p. 31, l. 2. * An high speech

The article is redundant in the phrases 'upon *a* wearinesse', E. ii. p. 6, l. 20; 'in *a* proportion', E. iii. p. 15, l. 21; comp. 'in *a* readiness', 2 Cor. x. 2.

In the following words the prefix a- is printed separately; 'a breast', E. xlvi. p. 191, l. 13; 'a farre', E. xlvi. p. 189, l. 1, xlvii. p. 196, l. 13; 'a peece', E. xlv. p. 182, l. 28; 'a while', E. li. p. 208, l. 4.

ABATE, *v. t.* Lit. to beat down; hence to blunt, depress. E. ix. p. 32, l. 33, xxix. p. 121, l. 28.

ABLE, *adj.* Sufficient, capable. E. xxix. p. 129, l. 26. Comp. Acts xx. 32, Rom. xv. 14, 2 Tim. iii. 15.

ABOVE, *prep.* More than. E. lvi. p. 224, l. 30.

ABSURD, *adj.* The Lat. *absurdus* is applied to the answer given by a deaf man (*surdus*) which has nothing to do with the question; hence it signifies, deaf to reason, unreasonable. E. vi. p. 20, l. 31, xlvii. p. 196, l. 6.

ABUSE, *sb.* Deception. E. xlix. p. 202, l. 15.

,, *v. t.* To deceive. E. xlii. p. 174, l. 5.

ABUSING, *sb.* Deceiving, mockery. E. xxii. p. 95, l. 29. Comp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 4, 1 Chron. x. 4, and the marginal readings of both passages.

ACCEPT OF, *v. t.* To approve, receive with favour. E. iii. p. 11, l. 23, xi. p. 41, l. 29. Comp. Gen. xxxii. 20.

ACCOMMODATE, *v. i.* To adapt oneself; used originally as a reflexive verb. C. 10., p. 266, l. 3.
ACCOUNT UPON, *v. t.* To reckon. E. xxxi. p. 135, l. 5.
ACCOUNT, MAKE. To reckon, consider. E. xxxiii. p. 139, l. 11, xlvi. p. 194, l. 14.
ACQUAINT, *v. t.* To make acquainted. E. vii. p. 24, l. 10.
ACT, *sb.* Action. E. xi. p. 40, l. 23.
ACTOR, *sb.* A speaker, orator, like the Lat. *actor.* E. xxv. p. 102, l. 18.
ACULEATE, *adj.* Pointed. E. lvii. p. 230, l. 9.
ADAMANT, *sb.* A load-stone, magnet. E. xviii. p. 73, l. 5.
ADMIRABLE, *adj.* Wonderful. E. xxvii. p. 110, l. 27.
ADMITTANCE, BY. By admission. E. xxvi. p. 105, l. 6.
ADOE, *sb.* Bustle. E. ix. p. 30, l. 15, xii. p. 45, l. 29. *To do* is used in the same sense in many dialects.
ADUST, *p. p.* Parched, burnt up. E. xxxvi. p. 153, l. 5.
ADVENTURE, *sb.* Chance, fortune. E. i. p. 3, l. 11. Risk. E. liv. p. 217, l. 14.
,, *v. t.* To venture. E. xlii. p. 174, l. 21.
ADVISED, *p. p.* Deliberate. E. xviii. p. 74, l. 3, lvi. p. 222, l. 11.
ADVOUTRESS, *sb.* An adulteress. E. xix. p. 78, l. 27.
ÆQUINOCTIA, *sb.* The equinoxes. E. xv. p. 54, l. 5. See the note.
A FARRE OFF, *adv.* Far off. E. lviii. p. 237, l. 15.
AFFECT, *v. t.* To aim at, desire, have a liking for. E. i. p. 1, l. 4, ix. p. 31, l. 3, xiii. p. 47, l. 1, xxii. p. 94, l. 6, xxxviii. p. 161, l. 3, xlvii. p. 196, l. 1.
AFFECTION, *sb.* Desire, liking. E. vii. p. 25, l. 1.
AFTER, *adv.* Afterwards. E. xxi. p. 89, l. 11, xxix. p. 129, l. 23, lviii. p. 237, l. 29. According. xxxix. p. 162, l. 4.
AGREEABLY. xxxii. p. 138, l. 16.
AIME AT, TAKE AN. To estimate. E. xvii. p. 69, l. 20.
ALLAY, *sb.* Alloy. E. i. p. 3. l. 27.
ALLEY, *sb.* A walk, bowling alley. E. xxii. p. 91, l. 16, xlv. p. 183, l. 20, xlvi. p. 193, l. 18.
ALL ONE. The same. E. xxix. p. 121, l. 34, lviii. p. 232, l. 8.
ALLOW, *v. t.* To approve. E. xviii. p. 71, l. 7, xxvi. p. 105, l. 23, lii. p. 211, l. 29.
ALMAIGNE. Germany. E. lviii. p. 236, l. 12.
ALMOST, *adv.* Generally; like Lat. *fere.* E. xliii. p. 176, l. 5.
AMBASSAGE, *sb.* Embassy. E. xxix. p. 120, l. 30.
AMIABLE, *adj.* Loveable; used in the passive sense. E. xliii. p. 177, l. 18.
AMONGST, *adv.* Used by itself in the sense of 'intermixed'. E. xlvi. p. 192, l. 27.
AND. If. E. xxiii. p. 97, l. 21, xl. p. 166, l. 26.
ANGRY, *adj.* Provoking anger. E. lvii. p. 230, l. 25.
ANSWERED, *p. p.* Guaranteed. E. xli. p. 172, l. 14.
ANTICAMERA, *sb.* An antechamber. E. xlv. p. 184, l. 33.
ANTIMASQUE. A grotesque interlude introduced between the acts of the masque, to which it served as a foil and contrast, and hence its name. Ben Jonson (*Masque of Augurs*)

uses *antic-masque*, that is, a masque in which *antics* or grotesque figures took part, but it is uncertain whether this is the true etymology. E. xxxvii. p. 157, l. 24.
ANTIQUES, *sb.* Grotesque figures introduced in antimasques. E. xxxvii. p. 157, l. 26.
APACE, *adv.* Hastily. F. p. 241, l. 3.
APPARENT, *adj.* Manifest. E. xl. p. 165, l. 11.
APPETITE, IN. Desirous of rising. E. xlvii. p. 196, l. 16.
APPOSED, *p.p.* Questioned. E. xxii. p. 93, l. 28.
APPROACHES, *sb.* Encroachments. E. xix. p. 77, l. 28.
APRICOCKES, *sb.* Apricots. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 30.
APT, *adj.* Adapted, fit. E. xxix. p. 120, l. 5, 7.
ARBITREMENT, *sb.* Arbitration, decision. E. iii. p. 10, l. 18.
ARE NOT. Do not exist. E. iii. p. 11, l. 28. So 'were not.' xvii. p. 68, l. 17. Comp. Matt. ii. 18.
ARGUMENT, *sb.* A subject for consideration. E. xxix. p. 119, l. 17.
ARIETATION, *sb.* Lat. *arietatio*, a butting; hence, an assault with a battering ram. E. lviii. p. 237, l. 18.
ARRAS, *sb.* Tapestry; so called from the town Arras in Artois, where it was principally made. E. xxvii. p. 111, l. 33.
ARRAY, *v. t.* To set in order of battle. E. lviii. p. 237, l. 28.
ARROGANCY, *sb.* Arrogance. E. ix. p. 33, l. 22.
ARTIFICERS, *sb.* Skilled workmen. E. ix. p. 31, l. 17.
ARTILLERY, *sb.* Originally any engines of war were called artillery, and the term was retained after the invention of gunpowder. E. xxix. p. 120, l. 11.
AS, *conj.* That. E. vi. p. 18, l. 18, xxiii. p. 97, l. 21. So as = so that. viii. p. 27, l. 5, p. 28, l. 4, xxxix. p. 164, l. 12.
ASKE, *v. t.* To require. E. vi. p. 18, l. 2, x. p. 38, l. 12, xxxiii. p. 140, l. 20.
ASPECT, *sb.* The appearance of a planet, which varied with its position among the stars. E. ix. p. 29, l. 11. C. 7. p. 259, l. 11.
sb. Attempt. E. xv. p. 55, l. 28.
ED, *p.p.* Sure, trustworthy. E. xi. p. 42, [redacted]
57, l. 20, p. 63, l. 9.
ATHWART, *prep.* Across. F. p. 241, l. 5.
AT THE FIRST. At first. E. xlv. p. 182, l. 18.
AT THE LEAST. At least. E. xxix. p. 126, l. 29, xxxi p. 134, l. 3.
AT THE SECOND HAND. At second hand. E. liv. p. 217, l. 25.
ATTEMPER, *v. t.* To moderate. E. xiv. p. 51, l. 6, lvii. p. 228, l. 8. C. 8. p. 260, l. 1.
AVERSATION, *sb.* Aversion. E. xxvii. p. 106, l. 6.
AVERT, *v. t.* To turn away. E. iii. p. 9, l. 21.
AVOIDANCES, *sb.* Outlets. E. xlv. p. 185, l. 14.
AWAKE, *v. t.* To awaken. E. xlix. p. 202, l. 33.
AWAY. Used as a verb, to remove, or go away. E. liii. p. 213, l. 19.

BABLER, *sb.* An idle talker. E. vi. p. 19, l. 32.
BAND, *sb.* Bond. E. iii. p. 8, l. 1, 3, xv. p. 56, l. 10.
BANQUET, *sb.* A dining hall. E. xlv. p. 182, l. 3, 13.
BARBAROUS PEOPLE, *sb.* Barbarians. E. xvi. p. 66, l. 4, lviii. p. 236, l. 21.
BARRIERS, *sb.* The lists within which a tournament was fought. E. xxxvii. p. 158, l. 7.
BARTHOLOMEW-TIDE, *sb.* St Bartholomew's day is on 24th Aug. E. xlvi. p. 188, l. 23.
BASE, *adj.* Literally, low; hence, in a moral sense, debased, degraded. E. xxix. p. 122, l. 14.
BATTAILE, *sb.* A body of troops. E. lviii. p. 237, l. 29.
BAUGH, *sb.* E. xxxv. p. 151, l. 16. Probably the Bass Rock.
BE, 3 *pl.* E. i. p. 1, l. 3, iii. p. 11, l. 8, xxix. p. 128, l. 31.
BE TO PAY. We should say, 'have to pay'. C. 10. p. 265, l. 5.
BEARE. To *beare* it = to carry it off. E. xxvi. p. 105, l. 4.
BEARE-BERRIES, *sb.* Berberries. E. xlvi. p. 193, l. 11.
BEARES-FOOT, *sb.* *Helleborus fœtidus*; called also in Gerarde's *Herball*, Ox-heele, and Setter-wort. E. xlvi. p. 193, l. 6.
BEAUTIFY, *v. t.* To adorn. E. i. p. 3, l. 6.
BECAUSE, *conj.* In order that. E. viii. p. 26, l. 18, xxv. p. 101, l. 15, xxxiv. p. 144, l. 19.
BECOME, *v. i.* To get to, betake oneself. E. xlv. p. 184, l. 4.
BECOMMEN, *p. p.* Become. E. xxix. p. 123, l. 34.
BEFALL TO. To happen, befall; generally without the preposition. E. lviii. p. 236, l. 14.
BEHOLDING, *adj.* Beholden, indebted. E. x. p. 36, l. 1, liv. p. 217, l. 24.
BELIKE, *adv.* Probably. E. li. p. 208, l. 22.
BEMOAN, *v. refl.* To bemoan oneself = to lament. E. ix. p. 32, l. 31.
BENT, *sb.* A kind of grass, called by Gerarde *Reed-grass*, which was used for chimney ornaments. E. xlvi. p. 188, l. 27.
BESTOWING, *sb.* Placing, settling in life. E. xxvii. p. 114, l. 31.
BETWIXT, *prep.* Between. E. xxxii. p. 138, l. 24.
BEVER, *sb.* The front part of a helmet which had openings for the eyes, and when down covered the face. Fr. *bavière* E. xxxv. p. 150, l. 34.
BIGNESSE, *sb.* Size. E. xlv. p. 182, l. 20.
BIN = BEEN. C. 10. p. 265, l. 1.
BIRTH, *sb.* That which is born, offspring. E. xxiv. p. 99, l. 1.
BLAB, *sb.* A teller of secrets. E. vi. p. 19, l. 32.
[illegible]KES, *sb.* Mourning. E. ii. p. 6, l. 1.
[illegible]NCH, *v. i.* To flinch. E. xx. p. 86, l. 30.
,, *v. t.* To avoid. E. xxvi. p. 105, l. 12.
BLUSHING, *sb.* The cause of blushing or shame. E. xxvii. p. 115, l. 13.

BOARD. *sb.* Table. E. xxxviii. p. 160, l. 25.
BODY-HORSE, *sb.* The shaft horse. C. 10. p. 266, l. 19.
BONNETS, *sb.* Hats, of men, as well as women. E. xli. p. 168, l. 13.
BORDERER, *sb.* E. xxix. p. 127, l. 5. "A *borderer*, one that dwelleth by, that commeth out of one countrie and dwelleth in another." Baret, *Alvearie*.
BOWED, *p.p.* Bent. E. xxvii. p. 113, l. 33.
BRAVE, *v. t.* To assume ostentatiously, parade. E. xv. p. 61, l. 23.
BRAVE, *adj.* Fine. E. xxxiii. p. 141, l. 15.
BRAVERY, *sb.* Finery: hence ostentation, display, bravado. E. xi. p. 41, l. 7, xv. p. 61, l. 1, xxv. p. 102, l. 29, xxxvii. p. 158, l. 13, liv. p. 216, l. 9. lvii. p. 228, l. 2.
BREAK, *v. t.* To train, accustom. E. lii. p. 211. l. 2.
BROAKE, *v. i.* To negotiate. E. xxxiv. p. 146, l. 24.
BROKEN MUSICKE. Music that is interrupted or not continuous. E. xxxvii. p. 156, l. 8. Mr Chappell (*Pop. Mus.* i. 246, note C) says it means what we now term 'a string band.'
BRUIT, *sb.* Cry. E. liv. p. 216, l. 14.
BUCKLING, *pr. p.* Preparing to go. E. xxi. p. 90, l. 3.
BURSE, *sb.* The Exchange; Fr. *bourse*. E. xviii. p. 72, l. 1[illegible].
BUSIE, *adj.* Full of work, elaborate: now applied only to persons. E. xlvi. p. 191, l. 1.
BUZZES, *sb.* Empty noises. E. xxxi. p. 135, l. 11.
BY. By how much. E. x. p. 37, l. 24, xx. p. 82, l. 7, xxxiv. p. 147, l. 30. By the space of. E. xxix. p. 128, l. 13.
BY-WAY, *sb.* A secret way. E. xi. p. 42, l. 16, lvi. p. 225, l. 9.
BY-WORD, *sb.* A proverb, saying. E. xxv. p. 101, l. 21.

C.

CAN, *v. i.* To be able. E. xi. p. 40, l. 19.
CANTICLE, *sb.* Song. E. ii. p. 7, l. 13.
CAPABLE OF. Having capacity for. E. xxii. p. 91, l. 12.
CAPITALL, *adj.* Chief. E. lvi. p. 222, l. 16.
CARE NOT. Are not careful or cautious. E. xlii. p. 174, l. 1[illegible].
CARD, *sb.* Chart. E. xviii. p. 72, l. 31, xxix. p. 119, l. 29.
CARRIED, *p.p.* Carried on. E. xv. p. 56, l. 14.
CAST, *v. i.* To consider. E. xxvii. p. 114, l. 24.
,, *v. t.* To contrive. E. xlv. p. 183, l. 33. To decide. E. li. p. 208, l. 26, hence 'the *casting* vote'.
CASTOREUM. A natural product contained in two sacs near the organs of generation of the beaver; formerly used as a medicine, now chiefly as a perfume. E. xxvii. p. 107, l. 22.
CATCHPOLE, *sb.* A bailiff. E. liii. p. 215, l. 9.
CENSURE, *sb.* Opinion. E. xxix. p. 118, l. 4.
CERTAINEST, *adj.* Most certain. E. xxxiv. p. 146, l. 34.
[illegible], *sb.* Trustworthiness. E. vi. p. 19, l. 10. Concession. E. liv. p. 218, l. 3.

CHALLENGE, *v. t.* To claim. E. xlviii. p. 198, l. 7. Comp. Ex. xxii. 9.

CHAMAÏRIS. The dwarf Iris, of which Gerarde enumerates 11 varieties. Perhaps the *Iris pumila* may be meant. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 2.

CHAPMEN, *sb.* Buyers. E. xxxiv. p. 146, l. 27.

CHARACTER, *sb.* A stamp, mark. C. 9. p. 263, l. 15.

CHARGE, *sb.* Cost. E. liv. p. 217, l. 14. Comp. 1 Cor. ix. 18.
,, *v. t.* To burden. E. xlviii. p. 198, l. 4.

CHARGEABLE, *adj.* Costly, expensive. E. xxix. p. 128, l. 7.

CHARGES, *sb.* Expences. E. viii. p. 26, l. 16, xxviii. p. 117, l. 24.

CHECKE WITH, *v. t.* To hinder. E. x. p. 38, l. 7, xxxi. p. 134, l. 5.

CHIEFEST, *adj.* Chief. E. li. p. 207, l. 6. Comp. 2 Cor. xi. 5.

CHOLER, *sb.* Anger. E. xxxvi. p. 153, l. 1.

CHOP, *v. i.* To bandy words; from 'chop' to change or interchange. Hence the slang word 'chaff'. E. lvi. p. 225, l. 20.

CHOPPING, *sb.* Changing. E. xxxiv. p. 146, l. 28.

CHURCH MEN, *sb.* Ecclesiastics. E. viii. p. 27, l. 11.

CIRCUMSTANCE, *sb.* This word includes all the surroundings and accompaniments of an action. E. lv. p. 219, l. 12.

CIVIL, *adj.* Literally, citizen-like: hence orderly, refined, and, as applied to actions, becoming. E. xvii. p. 69, l. 1, xlviii. p. 199, l. 9.

CIVILITY, *sb.* Civilization. E. xlvi. p. 186, l. 7.

CLAMOUR, *v. t.* To disturb with clamour. E. xx. p. 87, l. 30.

CLEARE, *adj.* Open. E. i. p. 3, l. 25.

CLEARNESSE, *sb.* Openness. E. vi. p. 19, l. 17.

CLEAVE, *v. i.* To stick, adhere. E. iii. p. 12, l. 5, C. 8. p. 261, l. 24.

CLOISTERED, *p. p.* Surrounded with cloisters. E. xlv. p. 184, l. 17.

CLOSE, *adj.* Secret. E. vi. p. 19, l. 4, xi. p. 42, l. 16, lvi. p. 223, l. 14.

CLOSENESSE, *sb.* Secrecy. E. vi. p. 18, l. 13, 15, p. 19, l. 20, xxvii. p. 110, l. 17.

CLOVE GILLY-FLOWER, *sb.* Perhaps *Dianthus caryophyllus.* Gerarde distinguishes the Clove Gilly-Flower from the Carnation only by its being smaller both in leaf and flower. E. xlvi. p. 188, l. 33.

COEMPTION, *sb.* A buying up. E. xxxiv. p. 147, l. 10.

COLLECT, *v. t.* To gather, infer. E. xxxv. p. 152, l. 20.

COLLIAR, *sb.* An owner of coal mines. E. xxxiv. p. 146, l. 6.

COLOUR, *v. t.* To *colour* other mens moneyes. E. xli. p. 172, l. 25. 'To *colour* strangers' goods, is when a Free-man or Denison permits a Foreigner to enter Goods at the Custom-house in his name'. Phillips' *New World of Words*, 6th ed.

COMELINESSE, *sb.* Beauty, grace. E. xxvii. p. 115, l. 8, xliii. p. 177, l. 21.

COMELY, *adj.* Becoming. E. x. p. 37, l. 10, liv. p. 218, l. 3.
COMFORT, *v. i.* To strengthen. E. xxxix. p. 164, l. 11.
COMMEND, *v. t.* To recommend. E. xxx. p. 132, l. 21.
COMMENDATORY, *adj.* Letters *commendatory* = letters of recommendation. E. lii. p. 210, l. 15.
COMMISERABLE, *adj.* Miserable, in the sense of deserving compassion. E. xxxiii. p. 143, l. 9.
COMMODITIES, *sb.* Advantages. E. xli. p. 168, l. 25.
COMMON, *adj.* Belonging to all alike, public. Thus 'The Book of *Common* Prayer' is the book of prayer used in public, and in common by all. E. xv. p. 55, l. 34.
COMMON PLACE, *sb.* A theme, or college exercise, in which a particular subject was discussed. E. xxxii. p. 136, l. 6, C. 10. p. 266, l. 8.
COMMUNICATE, *p. p.* Shared. E. xiii. p. 48, l. 30.
COMMUNICATE WITH, *v. t.* To share with, impart to. E. xx. p. 84, l. 20, xxvii. p. 110, l. 13, xxxi. p. 135, l. 16.
COMPACTED, *p. p.* Compact. C. 5. p. 255, l. 26.
COMPASSE, *sb.* Circuit. E. xxix. p. 129, l. 5. Contrivance. C. 9. p. 264, l. 16.
COMPOSITION, *sb.* Temperament. E. xlii. p. 173, l. 21.
COMPOUND, *v. t.* To settle. E. lv. p. 220, l. 24, lviii. p. 235, l. 4.
COMPREHEND, *v. t.* To include, embrace. E. xlviii. p. 200, l
CONCEITS, *sb.* Conceptions, ideas. E. vi. p. 22, l. 4.
CONDEMNED MEN. Convicts. E. xxxiii. p. 139, l. 21.
CONFEDERATE, *p. p.* Leagued, united. E. xvi. p. 64, l. 13.
CONFERENCE, *sb.* Consultation. E. l. p. 205, l. 16.
CONFERRE, *v. i.* To consult. E. l. p. 205, l. 19.
CONFIDENCE, *sb.* Credit. E. xv. p. 61, l. 31, xl. p. 166, l. 27. Boldness. xvi. p. 65, l. 32.
CONSCIENCE, *sb.* Consciousness. E. xi. p. 40, l. 26.
CONSENTING, *p. p.* Agreeing. C. 7. p. 257, l. 27.
CONSORT, IN. In company, in concert. E. xx. p. 86, l. 12.
CONTAINE, *v. t.* To hold in, restrain, restrict. E. xxix. p. 124, l. 21. p. 125, l. 17, lvii. p. 230, l. 5.
CONTEND, *v. i.* To endeavour. E. lv. p. 220, l. 2.
CONTENT, *v. i.* To please, give satisfaction. E. xxxii. p. 137. l. 13.
CONTRARIE, *adv.* On the contrary. C. 6. p. 257, l. 19.
CONTRARIWISE, *adv.* On the contrary. E. iii. p. 10, l. 13, ix. p. 32, l. 10, xlviii. p. 199, l. 23, li. p. 207, l. 5.
CONTROVERSIE, *sb.* Dispute. E. xlix. p. 202, l. 1.
CONVENIENT, *adj.* Suitable. E. xxix. p. 122, l. 31.
CONVERSANT IN. Conversant with. E. xx. p. 86, l. 30.
CONVERSATION, *sb.* Used of a man's whole walk and manner of life. E. xxvii. p. 106, l. 12.
CONVERSE, *v. i.* To be engaged. E. xxxviii. p. 161, l. 2.
CONVERT, *v. t.* To change. C. 6. p. 257, l. 11.
CONVINCE, *v. t.* To refute. E. xvi. p. 64, l. 5.
COPULATE, *p. p.* Coupled, united. E. xxxix. p. 164, l. 8.
CORNELIAN-TREE. The Cornel Tree. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 7.

CORNELIANS, *sb.* The fruit of the Cornel tree, sometimes called Cornelian cherries, which were in some parts of the country used for tarts. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 34.
CORNE-MASTER, *sb.* An owner of corn. E. xxxiv. p. 146, l. 7.
CORRESPONDENCE, HOLD. To bear a proportion, correspond. E. xv. p. 63, l. 11.
CORROBORATE, *p.p.* Strengthened, confirmed. E. xxxix. p. 162, l. 9.
CORRUPT, *v.i.* To become corrupt, putrefy. E. xvii. p. 69, l. 34, xxxiv. p. 148, l. 13.
COUNT, *v.t.* To reckon, consider. E. i. p. 1, l. 3, xxxvi. p. 154, l. 23, xlvii. p. 196, l. 24.
COUNTERVALE, *v.t.* To outweigh. C. 2. p. 249, l. 14.
COUNTRY, *adj.* Belonging to one's country; like the Lat. *patrius*. E. xviii. p. 74, l. 6.
COURAGES, *sb.* Spirits. E. xxix. p. 128, l. 2. 'Courage' appears to have been used at first for any feeling of the heart. Comp. Chaucer, *C. T.* prol. 22;

'In Southwerk at the Tabbard as I lay,
Redy to wenden on my pilgrimage
To Canturbury with devout *corage*.'

COURSE, OF. E. xxiv. p. 99, l. 14. The Lat. translation has *decursu solo*, that is, in its mere passage or progress, and this seems to be the meaning of the phrase.
COURSE, OUT OF. Out of order. E. xlvi. p. 193, l. 16.
COVERT, *adj.* Sheltered. E. xlvi. p. 189, l. 30.
,, *sb.* Shelter. C. 7. p. 259, l. 17.
COVET, *v.t.* To desire earnestly. E. xxxv. p. 152, l. 19.
CREATURE, *sb.* In the literal sense of 'a thing created', applied both to animate and inanimate objects. E. i. p. 2, l. 32, vii. p. 23, l. 19.
[illegible]E, *sb.* A servile bow. E. iii. p. 9, l. 29.
CROCUS VERNUS. By this Bacon apparently means something different from the plant now known by the name, which has a purple flower. According to Loudon's *Hortus Britannicus*, the common yellow crocus (*C. luteus*) was not introduced till 1629. The *C. susiana*, which has a yellow flower, was introduced in 1605. Gerarde calls the *Crocus vernus* 'the early flouring wilde Saffron,' and gives two kinds *C. V. flore luteo*, Yellow Spring Saffron, and *C. V. flore albo*, White Spring Saffron, which may be those to which Bacon alludes.
CROOK, *v.t.* To twist, pervert. E. xxiii. p. 96, l. 20, xxvii. p. 113, l. 34.
CROSSE, *adj.* Opposing, contradictory. E. iii. p. 10, l. 21.
CUNNINGLY, *adv.* Skilfully. E. xxix. p. 118, l. 15.
CURIOUS, *adj.* Literally, careful, with the notion of over niceness or extreme accuracy; ingenious. E. ix. p. 29, l. 14.
CURIOUS ARTS. Magical arts. The phrase is borrowed

from the Vulgate rendering of Acts xix. 19. E. xxxv. p. 150, l. 26.
CURIOSITIES, *sb.* Nice questions. E. ix. p. 29, l. 22.
CURIOSITY, *sb.* Elaborate work. E. xlvi. p. 192, l. 4.
CURIOUSLY, *adv.* Carefully, accurately. E. l. p. 205, l. 8.
CURRANTLY, *adv.* Continuously. E. xxxi. p. 134, l. 7.
CUSTOME, *sb.* Tax, impost. E. xix. p. 80, l. 33, xxxiii. p. 142, l. 6.

D.

DAINTILY, *adv.* Elegantly. E. i. p. 2, l. 5, xlv. p. 185, l. 7.
DAINTY, *adj.* Elegant. E. xxxvii. p. 156, l. 15.
DAMMASIN, *sb.* The Damascene plum, or damson. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 14.
DAMOSELL, *sb.* Damsel. E. xxxviii. p. 160, l. 23.
DANGER, *sb.* To come in *danger* = to be endangered. E. xiii. p. 47, l. 17. In E. xlvii. p. 195, l. 7, 'danger' is used where we should put the adjective; so 'reason' for 'reasonable'.
DECEIVABLE, *adj.* Deceptive. E. xliv. p. 178, l. 16.
DECEIVE, *v. t.* To defraud, deprive. E. xlvi. p. 193, l. 33, C. 7. p. 258, l. 31.
DECENT, *adj.* Becoming, graceful. E. xliii. p. 177, l. 16, xlv. p. 184, l. 18.
DECLINATION, *sb.* Decline, declension. E. xxii. p. 94, l. 5. xxix. p. 126, l. 5.
DECLINE, *v. t.* To turn aside. E. xl. p. 166, l. 30.
DEDUCED, *p. p.* Brought down. E. lvi. p. 227, l. 7.
DEEPE, *adj.* Profound. E. ix. p. 32, l. 29.
DEFACE, *v. t.* To destroy. E. iii. p. 12, l. 10, xvi. p. 66, l. 27.
DEFATIGATION, *sb.* Weariness. C. 10. p. 266, l. 25.
DEGENERATE, *p. p.* Degenerated. E. xi. p. 41, l. 12.
DELIVER, *v. t.* To describe. E. xlv. p. 181, l. 27.
DELIVER, *v. t.* To let in, admit. E. xlvi. p. 190, l. 25.
DELIVERED, *p. p.* Let in, admitted. E. xlvi. p. 192, l. 14.
DELIVERIES, *sb.* Means of escape from difficulties. E. xix. p. 76, l. 34.
DENY, *v. t.* To refuse. E. xlix. p. 202, l. 16.
DEPENDANCES, *sb.* Dependencies. E. xx. p. 85, l. 14, xxxvi. p. 155, l. 17.
DEPRAVE, *v. t.* To misrepresent, disparage. E. xlix. p. 202, l. 7.
DEPUTIE, *sb.* The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The word is curious, because it is used in Acts xix. 38, for the Roman proconsul. E. xxxix. p. 163, l. 19.
DERIVE, *v. t.* To turn aside. E. ix. p. 34, l. 1.
,, *v. i.* To be derived. C. 9. p. 262, l. 23.
DESTITUTE, *v. t.* To leave destitute. E. xxxiii. p. 143, l. 6.
DIET, *v. i.* To take one's meals. E. xviii. p. 73, l. 7.

DIFFICILNESSE, *sb.* Stubbornness. E. xiii. p. 49, l. 16.
DIGGED, *p.p.* Dug. E. xxiii. p. 97, l. 32.
DISABLE, *v. t.* To damage. E. xlix. p. 202, l. 8.
DISADVANTAGEABLE, *adj.* Disadvantageous. E. xxviii. p. 117, l. 15.
DISCERNE, *v. t.* To distinguish. E. iii. p. 10, l. 26, xxxvi. p. 155, l. 33.
DISCERNE OF. To discern. E. xxxvi. p. 155, l. 28.
DISCOMMODITIES, *sb.* Disadvantages. E. xxxiii. p. 142, l. 21, xli. p. 169, l. 5.
DISCONTENT, *adj.* Discontented. E. xv. p. 60, l. 18, xlviii. p. 199, l. 22.
DISCONTENTMENT, *sb.* Discontent. E. ix. p. 34, l. 18, xv. p. 57, l. 12.
DISCOURSING, *adj.* Discursive, rambling. E. i. p. 1, l. 7.
DISCOVER, *v. t.* To uncover, disclose. E. v. p. 17, l. 27.
DISCOVERIE, *sb.* Disclosure. E. vi. p. 19, l. 33, xli. p. 168, l. 22.
DISPEOPLE, *v. t.* To depopulate. E. lviii. p. 231, l. 20.
DISPLANT, *v. t.* To displace. E. xxxiii. p. 139, l. 7.
DISPLEASURE, *v. t.* To displease. E. xxxvi. p. 154, l. 27.
DISPOSITION, *sb.* Arrangement. E. l. p. 204, l. 5.
DISREPUTATION, *sb.* Disrepute. E. xlviii. p. 199, l. 32.
DISSOLVE, *v. t.* To annul, used of laws, like the Lat. *dissolvere.* E. iii. p. 12, l. 9.
DISTANCE, *sb.* Variance. E. xv. p. 62, l. 7.
DISTASTE, *sb.* Disgust. E. v. p. 17, l. 17.
DISTASTED, *p.p.* Disgusted. E. xlix. p. 202, l. 14.
DITTY, *sb.* The words *dicta*, of a song, and hence the song itself. O. Fr. *dicté, ditté.* E. xxxvii. p. 156, l. 9.
DIVERS, *adj.* Different. E. iii. p. 9, l. 29, xx. p. 87, l. 22.
DIVERSLY, *adv.* Differently. E. xxix. p. 122, l. 1.
DOCTOR, *sb.* Teacher. E. iii. p. 9, l. 13, xiii. p. 48, l. 9.
DOCTRINE, *sb.* Teaching. E. iii. p. 13, l. 22.
DOE, *v. t.* To work, produce. E. lviii. p. 232, l. 31.
DOLE, *sb.* Dealing, distribution. E. xxxiv. p. 144, l. 15.
DOLOR, *sb.* Pain. E. ii. p. 7, l. 12.
DONATIVE, *sb.* A largess, gift of money. E. xv. p. 62, l. 22, xix. p. 81, l. 3, xxix. p. 129, l. 25.
DOUBT, *v. t.* To fear; like the Lat. *dubitare* in the later sense. E. xxii. p. 92, l. 22, xxviii. p. 116, l. 18, lviii. p. 234, l. 12.
DRIE BLOW, *sb.* A joke, smart hit. E. xxxii. p. 138, l. 11.
DRIVE, *v. t.* To conduct; still used colloquially in the same sense. E. xli. p. 169, l. 13.
DROWTH, *sb.* Drought. C. 4. p. 251, l. 11.

E.

ECCENTRICKS, *sb.* In the Ptolemaic system of astronomy the sun and moon were supposed to move about the earth in circles; but in order to account for the varying velocity

of their motion the earth was supposed not to be at the centre of these circles, which were therefore called *eccentrics*. E. xvii. p. 69, l. 12.
EDGE, *v. t.* To incite, stimulate. E. xli. p. 171, l. 31.
EFFECTUAL, *adj.* Efficient, effective. E. liv. p. 216, l. 12.
EFFEMINATE, *v. i.* To become effeminate. E. xxix. p. 128, l. 2.
EIACULATION, *sb.* A darting forth. E. ix. p. 29, l. 13.
EITHER, *pr.* Each. E. xxx. p. 133, l. 14.
ELABORATE, *p. p.* Elaborated. E. xx. p. 83, l. 25.
ELECTION, *sb.* Choice. E. xliv. p. 178, l. 10, xlviii. p. 199, l. 25. C. 3. p. 250, l. 14.
ELEGANCY, *sb.* Elegance. E. xxxvii. p. 156, l. 4, xlv. p. 185, l. 9.
ELENCHES, *sb.* Refutations. P. 247, l. 4.
EMBASE, *v. t.* To make base, deteriorate. E. i. p. 3, l. 29.
EMBASSAGE, *sb.* Embassy. E. liii. p. 215, l. 6.
EMPLOYD MEN. Fr. *employés,* which is becoming naturalized. E. xviii. p. 73, l. 18.
EMULATION, *sb.* Strife, contention, as in Gal. v. 20. E. vii. p. 24, l. 18.
ENCREASE, *sb.* Produce. E. xxxiii. p. 140, l. 24.
END, *sb.* Intention. E. li. p. 208, p. 30. To the *end* = in order. E. xxii. p. 93, l. 28, xlix. p. 201, l. 20.
ENDANGER, *v. t.* To run the risk of. E. xv. p. 61, l. 3.
ENDANGERING, *sb.* Danger, risk. E. xxxiii. p. 142, l. 16.
ENGAGE INTO. To involve in. E. xviii. p. 73, l. 29.
ENGAGEMENT, *sb.* Obligation. E. xxxix. p. 162, l. 18.
ENGINES, *sb.* Skilful contrivances, works of art involving *ingenium* or skill. E. xvii. p. 69, l. 13.
ENQUIRE, *v. t.* Not now used as a transitive verb. E. xlviii. p. 199, l. 1.
ENRICH, *v. i.* To grow rich. E. xxxiv. p. 145, l. 28.
ENSIGNS, *sb.* Insignia; we have gone back to the Latin word. E. xxix. p. 130, l. 7.
ENSUE, *v. i.* To follow, result. E. xlviii. p. 198, l. 13.
ENTERLACE, *v. t.* To insert. E. liii. p. 215, l. 12.
ENTERPRISER, *sb.* An adventurer. E. xl. p. 166, l. 22.
ENTERTAINMENT, *sb.* Diversion; something which withdraws attention from the main subject. E. xlix. p. 201, l. 18.
ENTRANCE, *sb.* Used metaphorically of elementary knowledge. E. xviii. p. 71, l. 4.
ENTRED LEAGUE. Formed a league. E. xv. p. 56, l. 5.
EPICURE, *sb.* Epicurean. E. iii. p. 13, l. 2. C. 3. p. 249, l. 22.
EPICYCLE, *sb.* In order to account for the apparent motion of the planets, sometimes direct and sometimes retrograde, it was supposed in the Ptolemaic system of astronomy that each planet moved in a small circle, the centre of which described a larger circle about the earth. These small circles were called *epicycles*. E. xvii. p. 69, l. 12.
EQUIPOLLENT, *adj.* Equivalent. E. xxxix. p. 162, l. 22.

EQUIVALENT WITH. Equivalent to. C. 5. p. 255, l. 25.
ERE, *adv.* Before. E. xxxii. p. 138, l. 26.
ERECTING, *sb.* Establishing. E. xix. p. 75, l. 17.
ESPIAL, *sb.* Spy. E. xlviii. p. 198, l. 22.
ESTATE, *sb.* State, condition. E. ix. p. 34, l. 33, p. 35, l. 3. xiv. p. 51, l. 2, xv. p. 58, l. 34, xx. p. 87, l. 12, xxii. p. 92, l. 16, lvi. p. 227, l. 10.
ESTEEM OF. To esteem, value. E. x. p. 37, l. 30.
ESTIVATION, *sb.* A place of estivation is a summer-house. E. xlv. p. 184, l. 21.
ETHIOPE, *sb.* Ethiopian. E. xxxvii. p. 157, l. 27.
EUGH, *sb.* Yew. E. xlvi. p. 186, l. 17.
EVACUATED, *p.p.* Made void. C. 10. p. 267, l. 1.
EVERY, *pr.* Each. E. xv. p. 56, l. 19. C. 5. p. 255, l. 7.
EVILL-FAVOURED. Bad; literally, bad-looking, from *favour*, as applied to the features of the face. E. xxxix. p. 162, l. 6.
EXALTATION, *sb.* Tyrwhitt's note on the Wife of Bath's Prologue (Chaucer, *C. T.* l. 6284), explains this word: "In the old astrology, a planet was said to be in its *exaltation*, when it was in that sign of the zodiac, in which it was supposed to exert its strongest influence. The opposite sign was called its *dejection*, as in that it was supposed to be weakest." E. xxxix. p. 164, l. 13.
EXCEEDING, *adv.* Exceedingly. E. xxxix. p. 164, l. 6.
EXCEPT, *v. i.* To make exception. E. viii. p. 26, l. 21.
EXCUSATION, *sb.* Excuse. E. xxv. p. 102, l. 26, liv. p. 218, l. 3.
EXERCISED, *p.p.* Practised, trained. E. xl. p. 166, l. 24.
EXHAUST, *p.p.* Exhausted. E. viii. p. 27, l. 24, lviii. p. 238, l. 9.
EXPECT, *v. t.* To wait for. E. xxxiv. p. 146, l. 14.
EXPERIENCE, PUT IN. Experienced. E. xxxiii. p. 141, l. 18.
EXTENUATE, *v. t.* To weaken. C. 7. p. 259, l. 6.
EXTERNE, *adj.* External. E. xlii. p. 174, l. 30. C. 8. p. 261, l. 14.
EXTREME, *adv.* Extremely. E. xxxvii. p. 156, l. 10, xliv. p. 178, l. 21.

F.

E, *adj.* Easily swayed, fickle. E. viii. p. 27, l. 14.
ITY, *sb.* Fickleness. E. xi. p. 42, l. 21, lii. p. 211, l. 24.
FACULTY, *sb.* Ability. E. xxx. p. 133, l. 17.
FAINE, *adj.* Glad, and by a curious change of meaning, compelled. E. xix. p. 80, l. 12.
FAINE, *adv.* Gladly. E. xi. p. 40, l. 5.
FAINED, *adj.* Fictitious. E. xxxiv. p. 144, l. 17.
FAINT, *v. i.* To decay, become feeble, and hence metaphorically, to lose confidence. E. xvi. p. 65, l. 13.

FAIRE, *adv.* Handsomely. E. vi. p. 21, l. 27, lvi. p. 225, l. 11.
FAIRE, *adj.* Handsome. E. xiv. p. 52, l. 16, xxii. p. 95, l. 24, xlv. p. 182, l. 22.
FALL, *v. i.* To chance, happen. E. xiv. p. 52, l. 11.
FALLAXES, *sb.* Fallacies. P. 247, l. 3.
FALL UPON. To come to. E. xlvii. p. 196, l. 13.
FAME, *sb.* Reputation. E. vi. p. 22, l. 11. Rumour. E. xv. p. 55, l. 5. F. p. 240, l. 17.
FARE, *v. i.* To happen. E. xvi. p. 65, l. 16.
FASCET, *sb.* A facet, or little face. E. lv. p. 220, l. 2.
FASHION, *sb.* Habit. E. xlvii. p. 196, l. 31.
FAST, *adj.* Firm. E. xv. p. 62, l. 2. Tenacious, E. xlvi. p. 188, l. 14.
FAST, *adv.* Close. E. xiv. p. 52, l. 7.
FASTER, *adv.* Closer. E. xv. p. 56, l. 10.
FAVOUR, *sb.* Face, countenance. E. xxvii. p. 113, l. 14, xliii. p. 176, l. 17.
FEARES, *sb.* Objects of fear. E. xv. p. 58, l. 8.
FEARFUL, *adj.* Timid. E. xxix. p. 119, l. 22, xxxi. p. 134, l. 17, xxxvi. p. 155, l. 3.
FEARFULNESSE, *sb.* Timidity. E. vi. p. 21, l. 11.
FELICITY, *sb.* Good fortune. E. v. p. 17, l. 16, xl. p. 166, l. 28, xliii. p. 177, l. 10, lv. p. 220, l. 11.
FELLOW, *sb.* Companion. E. ix. p. 31, l. 19.
FETCH ABOUT, *v. i.* To go about. E. xxii. p. 95, l. 5.
FETCHING, *sb.* Striking. E. lviii. p. 237, l. 14.
FIFT, *adj.* Fifth. E. xvi. p. 64, l. 20.
FLAGGES, *sb.* The Yellow Iris. E. xlvi. p. 186, l. 19.
FLASH, *sb.* A sudden blaze; hence, with suddenness as the prominent idea, an instant. E. xxix. p. 126, l. 3.
FLASHY, *adj.* Tasteless. E. l. p. 205, l. 15.
FLOS AFRICANUS, *sb.* The African marigold. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 21.
FLOUT, *sb.* A jest, taunt. E. xxxii. p. 138, l. 11.
FLOWER DE LICES, *sb.* Fleur de lis, or iris. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 10.
FLUX, *sb.* Fluctuation. E. lviii. p. 231, l. 16.
FLY, *v. t.* To fly at, attack. F. p. 240, l. 1.
FOLLOWING, *sb.* Sect. E. iii. p. 10, l. 13.
FOND, *adj.* Foolish. E. xxvii. p. 113, l. 21.
FOOTPACE, *sb.* A dais or raised platform for a chair of state. E. lvi. p. 225, l. 30.
FORECONCEYVING, *pr. p.* Preconceiving. C. 8. p. 260, l. 19.
FORESEE, *v. i.* To provide. E. xv. p. 59, l. 8, xlv. p. 184, l. 30, lviii. p. 236, l. 27.
FORGOT, *p. p.* Forgotten. E. xxii. p. 93, l. 22.
FORMALIST, *sb.* A formal person. E. xxvi. p. 104, l. 12.
FORTH OF. Forth from. E. xxxv. p. 150, l. 13.
FORWARDS, *adj.* Forward. E. xviii. p. 74, l. 4.
FOWLE, *sb.* A bird of any kind. E. xiii. p. 48, l. 4, xlv p. 181, l. 22. F. p. 240, l. 2.

FOWLER, *sb.* A bird-catcher. E. xxxiii. p. 140, l. 8.
FRAME, OUT OF. In disorder. E. xv. p. 56, l. 26.
FRETTELLARIA, *sb.* Fritillary. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 3.
FRIARLY, *adj.* Friarlike, monastic. E. xxxiv. p. 145, l. 9.
FRONTED, *p.p.* Confronted. E. xv. p. 62, l. 2.
FROWARD, *adj.* Cross, perverse. E. viii. p. 27, l. 31, xxiv. p. 100, l. 4, xlvii. p. 196, l. 6.
FROWARDEST, *adj.* Most perverse. E. lvii. p. 230, l. 19.
FROWARDNESSE, *sb.* Perversity. E. xiii. p. 49, l. 15.
FUME, *sb.* Smoke, steam; hence, an empty fancy. E. xv. p. 58, l. 12, lviii. p. 233, l. 6.
FURNITURE, *sb.* Trappings, harness. E. xxxvii. p. 158, l. 14.
FUTILE, *adj.* Talkative. E. vi. p. 20, l. 11, xx. p. 84, l. 27.

G.

GADDING, *adj.* Going hither and thither. E. ix. p. 30, l. 21.
GALLIARD, *sb.* A lively French dance. E. xxxii. p. 137, l. 25.
GALLO-GRECIA. Galatia. E. lviii. p. 235, l. 19.
GARNISHED, *p.p.* Ornamented. E. xlv. p. 185, l. 18.
GAUDERIE, *sb.* Finery. E. xxix. p. 129, l. 29.
GEMINATION, *sb.* A doubling. C. 8. p. 260, l. 4.
GERMANDER, *sb.* *Teucrium Chamædrys.* E. xlvi. p. 186, l. 19.
GINGLES, *sb.* Rattles. E. xxxiii. p. 142, l. 28.
GINNITING, *sb.* An early apple. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 28.
GLOBE, *sb.* A crowd, gathered round any thing. E. xi. p. 40, l. 34.
GLORIOUS, *adj.* Ostentatious. E. xxxiv. p. 148, l. 10, xlviii. p. 198, l. 15, liv. p. 216, l. 8.
GLORY, *sb.* Ostentation, display. E. ix. p. 29, l. 17, liv. p. 217, l. 12, lvi. p. 224, l. 31. Lustre. xxxvii. p. 157, l. 19, p. 158, l. 8.
GO ABOUT, *v. i.* To endeavour. C. 1. p. 247, l. 10.
GOE NEARE. The phrase 'go near to', followed by a verb, would now be replaced by an adverb, nearly, or almost. E. viii. p. 27, l. 5.
GOING ABOUT, *sb.* Endeavour. E. xv. p. 55, l. 21.
GOING FORTH, *sb.* An outlet, exit. E. xlvi. p. 189, l. 14.
GOINGS, *sb.* Movements. E. i. p. 3, l. 30.
GOODLY, *adj.* Fine, handsome. E. xxxvii. p. 158, l. 13, xlv. p. 182, l. 28.
GOTTEN, *p.p.* E. ix. p. 34, l. 22, xv. p. 59, l. 27.
GRACING, *sb.* Compliment. E. lvi. p. 225, l. 10.
GRACIOUS, *adj.* Graceful. E. xliii. p. 176, l. 18, liv. p. 218, l. 3.
GRECIA, *sb.* Greece. E. xxix. p. 127, l. 20.
GRECIANS, *sb.* Greeks. E. i. p. 1, l. 16, xiii. p. 47, l. 3, liii. p. 214, l. 21. Comp. Joel iii. 6; Acts vi. 1.
GRINDED, *p.p.* Ground. E. xli. p. 171, l. 3.
GROSSE, IN. In the gross or mass. E. lviii. p. 233, l. 9.

GROTTA, *sb.* Grotto. E. xlv. p. 184, l. 21.
GROUNDED, *p.p.* Founded, well founded. E. iii. p. 11, l. 33, xix. p. 77, l. 2.
GROUNDS, *sb.* Soils. E. xlv. p. 180, l. 23.
GROW BEHINDE, *v. i.* To get in arrear. C. 10. p. 265, l. 11.
GROWEN, *p.p.* Grown. E. xxix. p. 126, l. 21, xxx. p. 132, l. 23.
GROWING SILKE. Vegetable Silk, the produce of *Bombax Ceiba*, the silk-cotton tree of S. America. E. xxxiii. p. 141, l. 18.

H.

HABILITATION, *sb.* Training. E. xxix. p. 125, l. 27.
HALFE LIGHTS, AT. By twilight. The Lat. has *tanquam in crepusculo.* E. vi. p. 18, l. 20.
HALFES, *sb.* Halves. E. xxvii. p. 110, l. 31.
HAND, AT A DEARE. At a great price. E. xxv. p. 102, l. 4.
,, AT EVEN. To come *at even hand* with another is to be even with him. E. ix. p. 30, l. 12.
,, OF EVEN. Equally balanced. North's *Plut.* p. [illegible]. "The battell was as yet *of euen hand.*" E. xxviii. p. 11[illegible], l. 13.
HANDLE, *v. t.* To treat; which is itself the Lat. *tractare*, to handle. E. ix. p. 30, l. 2, p. 34, l. 19.
HANDY-CRAFTS-MEN, *sb.* Artisans. E. xxix. p. 125, l. 19.
HANDY-WORK, *sb.* Workmanship, manufacture. E. xlvi. p. 186, l. 5. Comp. Ps. xix. 1.
HANGED, *p.p.* Hung with tapestry. E. xlv. p. 185, l. 7.
HAP, *v. i.* To happen. E. lviii. p. 232, l. 5.
HARDEST, *adj.* Hardiest. E. lviii. p. 236, l. 1.
HARDY, *adj.* Bold. E. xxvii. p. 110, l. 13.
HARMEFULL, *adj.* Hurtful, pernicious. E. vii. p. 24, l. 9, xxxvi. p. 155, l. 12.
HEALTHS, *sb.* Toasts. E. xviii. p. 73, l. 26.
HEARKEN, *v. i.* To get information, ascertain. E. xxxiii. p. 142, l. 12.
HEIGTH, *sb.* Height. E. xiv. p. 52, l. 5.
HELPS, *sb.* Aids. E. xi. p. 41, l. 26.
HERBA MUSCARIA, *sb.* The Grape-Hyacinth. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 24.
HEROICALL, *adj.* Heroic. E. v. p. 17, l. 7, ix. p. 30, l. 33, xxxiii. p. 139, l. 2.
HERSELIKE, *adj.* Funereal. E. v. p. 17, l. 13.
HIACYNTHUS ORIENTALIS, *sb.* The garden hyacinth brought from the Levant in 1596. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 2.
HIERUSALEM, *sb.* Jerusalem. E. xxxiii. p. 140, l. 18.
HIRELINGS, *sb.* Hired servants. E. xxix. p. 122, l. 34.
HIS, *pr.* Its. E. xxxvi. p. 153, l. 4. Used for the genitive case. E. xix. p. 78, l. 23, xxix. p. 128, l. 16.

HITHER, *adj.* Nearer. E. xlvi. p. 190, l. 28.
HOLD, *v. refl.* To adhere. C. 1. p. 248, l. 9.
HOLD WITH. To agree with. E. xv. p. 62, l. 10.
HOLPEN, *p.p.* Helped. E. xx. p. 85, l. 18, xxiv. p. 100, l. 14, xxix. p. 118, l. 8. Comp. Dan. xi. 34.
HOLY DAY, *sb.* A saint's day. C. 9. p. 259, l. 2.
HOME, TO KEEP. To keep at home. E. ix. p. 30, l. 22.
HONESTER, *adj.* More honest. E. xlvii. p. 196, l. 25.
HONNY-SUCKLE, FRENCH, *sb.* *Hedysarum Coronarium*, formerly called the hatchet vetch. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 13.
HONOURABLEST, *adj.* Most honourable. E. xxxii. p. 136, l. 10.
HORTATIVES, *sb.* Exhortations. E. viii. p. 27, l. 17.
HOWSOEVER, *adv.* Although. E. i. p. 2, l. 24.
HUMANITY, *sb.* Human nature. E. xxvii. p. 107, l. 13.
HUMOUROUS, *adj.* Fanciful. E. viii. p. 27, l. 3.
HUNDRED, *adj.* Hundredth. E. xxix. p. 122, l. 15.
HUSBAND, *v. t.* To farm, cultivate. E. xli. p. 169, l. 12.
,, *sb.* An economist. E. lv. p. 219, l. 18.
HUSBANDING, *sb.* Cultivation. E. xv. p. 59, l. 5.

IADE, *v. t.* To over-drive; and, metaphorically, to pursue a subject of conversation to weariness. E. xxxii. p. 136, l. 19.
IEOPARDY, *sb.* Risk, peril. C. 5. p. 256, l. 6.
ILL, *adj.* Bad. E. xlv. p. 180, l. 7.
IMAGERY, *sb.* Devices or figures in tapestry, painting, or sculpture. E. xxvii. p. 111, l. 34. Comp. Ez. viii. 12, Ecclus. xxxviii. 27.
IMBASE, *v. t.* To make base, degrade. E. x. p. 38, l. 20.
IMBOSMENTS, *sb.* Projections in architecture. E. xlvi. p. 191, l. 14.
IMPART, *v. refl.* To communicate. E. xx. p. 85, l. 7.
IMPERTINENCES, *sb.* Things not belonging to a question, irrelevant. E. viii. p. 26, l. 14.
IMPERTINENCY, *sb.* Irrelevance. E. lvi. p. 224, l. 26.
IMPERTINENT, *adj.* Irrelevant. E. xxvi. p. 105, l. 9.
IMPORT, *v. i.* To be of importance. E. xxix. p. 120, l. 15, p. 125, l. 24.
IMPORTUNE, *adj.* Importunate. E. ix. p. 35, l. 10, xlviii. p. 198, l. 5.
IMPOSE UPON. To lay a restraint upon. E. i. p. 1, l. 13.
IMPOSTUMATION, *sb.* A tumor. E. xv. p. 61, l. 4.
IMPRINTING, *adj.* Impressive. E. lii. p. 211, l. 12.
IMPROPRIATE, *v. t.* To appropriate. E. xxix. p. 130, l. 3.
IN, *prep.* Into. E. i. p. 1, l. 14.
IN GUARD. On guard. E. xxii. p. 94, l. 31.

IN THAT. Like the Lat. *in eo quod*. E. ix. p. 31, l. 1.
INBOWED WINDOWES. Bow-windows, or bay-windows. E. xlv. p. 184, l. 5.
INCENSED, *p.p.* Burnt. E. v. p. 17, l. 26.
INCEPTIONS, *sb.* Beginnings. C. 10. p. 266, l. 14.
INCOMMODITIES, *sb.* Disadvantages. E. xli. p. 168, l. 24.
INCONFORMITY, *sb.* Want of agreement. E. xxiv. p. 100, l. 1.
INCUR, *v.i.* 'To *incur into* the note of others' is to come under others' observation. E. ix. p. 31, l. 25.
INDIFFERENCY, *sb.* Indifference. E. xx. p. 87, l. 16.
INDIFFERENT, *adj.* Impartial. E. vi. p. 20, l. 26, xiv. p. 51, l. 20, xx. p. 87, l. 15, li. p. 207, l. 14.
INDIGNITY, *sb.* An unworthy act. E. xi. p. 39, l. 11.
INFAMED, *p.p.* Branded with infamy. E. xix. p. 78, l. 18.
INFANTERY, *sb.* Infantry. E. xxix. p. 122, l. 16.
INFLUENCES, *sb.* A trace of the old belief in the power exercised by the stars over human destiny lingers in this word. Comp. Job xxxviii. 31. E. ix. p. 29, l. 11, lviii. p. 233, l. 8.
INFORTUNATE, *adj.* Unfortunate. E. iv. p. 15, l. 31, xl. p. 167, l. 6.
INGAGED, *p.p.* Set fast. E. xxxix. p. 163, l. 24.
INGROSSING, *sb.* Monopoly. E. xv. p. 60, l. 12.
INORDINATE, *adj.* Irregular, ungovernable. E. x. p. 36, l. 16. C. 7. p. 259, l. 19.
INQUISITIONS, *sb.* Investigations. E. xxx. p. 132, l. 9.
INSOLENCIE, *sb.* Insolence. E. xiv. p. 52, l. 5, xv. p. 61, l. 1.
INSPIRE, *v.t.* To breathe in. E. i. p. 3, l. 4.
INTELLIGENCE, *sb.* Understanding. E. xlviii. p. 198, l. 13. To have *intelligence* = to have an understanding, agree. E. x. p. 37, l. 13.
INTEND, *v.t.* To aim at, strive after. E. xxix. p. 125, l. 31.
INTENTION, *sb.* Endeavour. E. xxix. p. 125, l. 29.
INTERESSED, *p.p.* Interested; the old form of the word. E. iii. p. 13, l. 33.
INTERLACE, *v.t.* To mix up together, insert. E. xi. p. 41, l. 34, xl. p. 167, l. 8.
INTERLOCUTION, *sb.* A speaking between different persons, alternate speaking, conversation. E. xxxii. p. 138, l. 19.
INTERVENIENT, *adj.* Intervening. E. lvi. p. 227, l. 4.
INURE, *v.t.* To make use of. E. xxxvi. p. 154, l. 34.
INVOLVED, *p.p.* Intricate. E. xx. p. 85, l. 25.
INWARD, *adj.* Intimate. E. xi. p. 42, l. 14, xx. p. 85, l. 4.
,, Interior. E. xliv. p. 184, l. 14. Hence, secret. E. xxvi. p. 105, l. 26.
IOY, *v.i.* To rejoice. E. xxvii. p. 110, l. 33.
IRRITATE, *v.t.* To provoke. E. lii. p. 214, l. 30.
ITERATE, *v.t.* To repeat. E. xxv. p. 102, l. 20.
ITERATION, *sb.* Repetition. E. xxv. p. 102, l. 19. C. 10. p. 266, l. 18.

JUST, *adj.* Exact. E. xv. p. 58, l. 28.
,, *sb.* A tilt, tournament. E. xxxvii. p. 158, l. 7.

K.

KINDE, *sb.* Manner. E. xli. p. 171, l. 33.
KINSFOLKS, *sb.* Relatives. E. vii. p. 24, l. 22, ix. p. 31, l. 19.
KNAP, *sb.* A knoll. E. xlv. p. 180, l. 12.
KNEE TIMBER, *sb.* Crooked timber. E. xiii. p. 49, l. 28.
KNIT, *v. t.* To fasten. E. xv. p. 58, l. 25.
KNOWLEDGE OF, TO TAKE. To take cognizance of, observe. E. xiii. p. 48, l. 18.

L.

LANDED, *p.p.* Possessed of landed property. C. 5. p. 254, l. 11.
LAUDATIVES, *sb.* Eulogies, panegyrics. E. xxix. p. 129, l. 19.
LAY, *v. i.* To lie. E. xxxviii. p. 160, l. 21.
LEAD-MAN, *sb.* An owner of lead mines. E. xxxiv. p. 146, l. 7.
LEADS, *sb.* A leaded roof; used by Bacon in the singular. E. xlv. p. 182, l. 29.
LEARNINGS, *sb.* Sciences. E. iii. p. 13, l. 23.
LEESE, *v. t.* To lose, cause the loss of. E. xix. p. 80, l. 26, xxix. p. 119, l. 20, xxxi. p. 134, l. 5, xxxiii. p. 139, l. 11.
LEGEND, *sb.* See note. E. xvi. p. 64, l. 2.
LELACKE, *sb.* Lilac. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 16.
LET, *v. t.* To hinder. E. xlvi. p. 190, l. 28.
LEVITY, *sb.* Lightness, fickleness. E. ix. p. 31, l. 12.
LIFT, *sb.* The step of a horse. E. xxv. p. 101, l. 9.
LIGHT, *v. i.* To happen, turn out. E. xliii. p. 177, l. 25.
,, *adj.* Slight, unimportant. E. iii. p. 9, l. 23.
LIGHTLY, *adv.* Easily. E. li. p. 208, l. 24.
LIGHTSOME, *adj.* Light. E. v. p. 17, l. 22, xlv. p. 181,
LIKE, *adj.* Likely. E. xx. p. 86, l. 5, xxii. p. 93, l. 24, xlvii. p. 95, l. 17, xlix. p. 203, l. 2. C. 1. p. 248, l. 2. Had like = was likely. E. xiii. p. 48, l. 3.
LIKE TO. Like. E. ix. p. 34, l. 20, xiii. p. 49, l. 28.
LIKE UNTO. E. iii. p. 12, l. 16.
LILIUM CONVALLIUM. The lily of the valley. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 25.
LIVELY, *adv.* Vividly. E. v. p. 17, l. 1.
LIVING, *sb.* Property. E. xlv. p. 181, l. 9. C. 5. p. 254, l. 9.
LOADING, *adj.* Laden, burdened. 'To be on the loading part' is to aggravate. E. xiii. p. 49, l. 19. Comp. *beholding*, and *beholden*.
LODGING, *sb.* Sleeping apartment. E. xlv. p. 184, l. 28.

LOOSES, *sb.* Properly the letting loose an arrow from the string; hence applied to the act of discharging any business. The Latin has *exitus*. It is apparently used in the same sense as "deliveries" in Essay XIX. E. xxii. p. 95, l. 25.

LOT, *sb.* A spell, like Fr. *sort*. E. ix. p. 33, l. 32. The custom alluded to by Bacon is illustrated by the following passage from Thrupp's *Anglo-Saxon Home*, p. 276 (*Notes and Queries*, 3rd S. ii. p. 116): "Diseases of which nothing was understood, such as epilepsy or insanity, were supposed to arise from the influence of demons, and were dealt with accordingly. The Anglo-Saxons had a notion, common to many nations, that evil spirits could not be conjured out of one man unless they were conjured into another, or into something else. The disease was, therefore, commonly charmed into a stick, and the stick thrown into a high-way; that it might be effectually separated from the sufferer. It was supposed that the disease, or evil spirit, would enter into the first person who picked it up."

LUCRE, *sb.* Gain. E. xvii. p. 69, l. 23.

LURCH, *v. t.* To absorb; literally to gulp down, from a Med. Lat. word *lurcare*, to swallow food greedily. E. xlv. p. 181, l. 8. 'To *Lurch*, deuour, or eate greedily. Ingurgito.' Baret, *Alvearie*.

LUTE, *sb.* A stringed instrument of music, resembling the modern guitar. E. xxix. p. 118, l. 5.

M.

MAGNIFIE, *v. t.* To make great or important. E. xiii. p. 48. l. 15. Comp. Josh. iii. 7, Job vii. 17.

MAINE, *adj.* Great, important. E. vi. p. 21, l. 12.

MAINE, *sb.* The important part. E. xxii. p. 95, l. 22.

MAINLY, *adv.* Forcibly, vigorously. E. xv. p. 56, l. 30, xxxiv. p. 146, l. 18.

MAINTAINE, *v. t.* To support, uphold. E. xxvii. p. 109, l. 28.

MAKE FOR. To be for the advantage of. E. i. p. 1, l. 19, xvi. p. 65, l. 9, xxix. p. 128, l. 5.

MAKE FORTH. To proceed. E. xli. p. 169, l. 2.

MALIGNE, *adj.* Malignant. E. xv. p. 61, l. 4, xxxvi. p. 153, l. 5.

MANNAGE, *v. t.* A term of horsemanship; literally to make a horse obey the hand, and so to handle generally. E. vi. p. 19, l. 12, xxix. p. 119, l. 9.

MANNAGE, *sb.* Management. E. xlii. p. 174, l. 11.

MANNER, *sb.* Kinds; used as a plural. E. lviii. p. 234, l. 28.

MARISH, *adj.* Marshy. E. xxxiii. p. 142, l. 18.

MARRE, *v. t.* To spoil. E. xxxii. p. 138, l. 14, xxxvi. p. 155, l. 15.

MARVELLED, *p.p.* Wondered at. E. xliv. p. 179, l. 25.
MASTERIES, TO TRY. To contend for mastery or superiority. E. xix. p. 77, l. 3.
MASTERY, *sb.* Superiority. E. xxx. p. 133, l. 6.
MATE, *v. t.* Literally, to stupefy or deaden; hence to overpower (Fr. *mater*). E. ii. p. 6, l. 5, xv. p. 58, l. 7.
MATERIALL, *adj.* Matter of fact. E. xxv. p. 102, l. 30.
MATTER, *sb.* Used like the Lat. *materia* in the literal sense fuel; hence, cause generally. E. xix. p. 77, l. 5, xv. p. 57, l. 8.
MATTER, UPON THE. On the whole. E. xliv. p. 179, l. 11.
MEANE, *sb.* Means. E. xix. p. 77, l. 14, xlix. p. 201, l. 9. Medium, instrument. E. xlix. p. 203, l. 4. In a *meane* = moderately. E. v. p. 17, l. 4.
MEANE, *adj.* Humble, inferior. E. xv. p. 57, l. 24.
MEAT, *sb.* Food of all kinds, not exclusively flesh. The *meat* offering of the Jews had no *flesh* in it. E. xxxiii. p. 140, l. 23.
MEERE, *adj.* Absolute. E. xxvii. p. 107, l. 7. Comp. Shaks. *M. of Ven.* iii. 2:

> 'I have engaged myself to a dear friend,
> Engaged my friend to his *mere* enemy.'

MEERELY, *adv.* Absolutely. E. lviii. p. 231, l. 20.
MEERE STONE, *sb.* A boundary stone; from A.-S. gemære, a boundary. E. lvi. p. 222, l. 15.
MELIORITIE, *sb.* Superiority. C. 1. p. 248, l. 10.
MELO-COTONE, *sb.* A kind of peach. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 33.
MEN OF WARRE, *sb.* Warriors, soldiers. E. xix. p. 77, l. 19, F. p. 240, l. 34.
MERCHANDIZING, *sb.* Trade. E. xli. p. 170, l. 2.
MERCURY ROD, *sb.* The caduceus or rod twined with serpents with which Hermes is represented. E. iii. p. 13, l. 24.
MEW, *v. t.* To moult or shed the feathers. Fr. *muer.* E. xxix. p. 121, l. 20.
MEZERION, *sb.* *Daphne Mezereum*, called also by Gerarde Dutch Mezereon, or Germane Olive Spurge. E. xlvi. p. 186, l. 23.
MIDDEST, *sb.* Midst. E. vii. p. 24, l. 6, xlv. p. 182, l. 11.
MILITAR, *adj.* Military. E. liv. p. 217, l. 10.
MILITIA, *sb.* An armed force, army. E. xxix. p. 124, l. 29.
MILKEN WAY, *sb.* The Milky Way. E. xl. p. 166, l. 5.
MINDE, *sb.* Intention. E. xiii. p. 50, l. 9.
MINISTERS, *sb.* Attendants. E. lvi. p. 225, l. 28.
MINTMAN, *sb.* One skilled in coinage. E. xx. p. 87, l. 26. 'Hee that thinketh *Spaine*, to be some great ouermatch for this Estate, assisted as it is, and may be, is no good *Mintman*; But takes greatnesse of Kingdomes according to their Bulke and Currency, and not after their intrinsique Value.' Bacon, *Cons. touching a Warre with Spaine*, p. 2, ed. 1629.
MISLAIER, *sb.* One who misplaces. E. lvi. p. 222, l. 15.

MISLIKE, *v. t.* To dislike. E. xli. p. 172, l. 12.
MODELL, *sb.* Plan. E. iii. p. 10, l. 33.
MOILE, *v. i.* To labour. E. xxxiii. p. 141, l. 24.
MONETH, *sb.* Month; A.-S. Mónáð. E. xlvi. p. 186, l. 11.
MONEYES, *sb.* Sums of money. E. xli. p. 172, l. 25.
MONOCULOS, *sb.* A one-eyed person. C. 10. p. 264, l. 24.
MORE, *adj.* Greater. E. xliii. p. 177, l. 3.
MORRIS DAUNCE, *sb.* A dance formerly common in England on festival days, and especially on May Day, and not yet entirely out of use. The name appears to indicate that it was borrowed from the Moriscos or Moors, but nothing is known of its origin. E. iii. p. 9, l. 28.
MOST, *adj.* Greatest. E. vii. p. 23, l. 14, xx. p. 86, l. 26, xxxvii. p. 157, l. 18.
MOTION, *sb.* Impulse. E. x. p. 38, l. 14. Emotion. xiv. p. 52, l. 33. Movement. xliii. p. 176, l. 10.
MOUGHT. Might. E. xv. p. 61, l. 5, xxii. p. 92, l. 16, xxvii. p. 110, l. 19.
MOUNT, *sb.* Mound. E. xlvi. p. 191, l. 11.
MOVE, *v. t.* To excite. E. iii. p. 9, l. 30.
MOWEN, *p. p.* Mown. E. xv. p. 59, l. 10.
MULTIPLICATION UPON. E. xxxix. p. 164, l. 14.
MUNITE, *v. t.* To fortify. E. iii. p. 12, l. 9.
MURTHER, *v. t.* To murder. E. iii. p. 13, l. 14.
MUSKE MELON, *sb.* The common melon, called also by Parkinson and Gerarde, Million. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 31.
MUSKE-ROSE, *sb.* *Rosa moschata.* E. xlvi. p. 188, l. 24.
MUSTER, *v. i.* To count. C. 5. p. 253, l. 2.
MYSTERY, *sb.* A hidden meaning, known only to the initiated. E. v. p. 16, l. 18.

N.

NAME, *sb.* Reputation. E. vi. p. 19, l. 10.
NATURALL, *adj.* Native. E. xxix. p. 124, l. 22.
NATURES, *sb.* Kinds. E. xlv. p. 180, l. 23, xlvi. p. 187, l. 11.
NAUGHT, *adj.* Bad. E. xxxiv. p. 146, l. 28, lii. p. 213, l. 4.
NEASTLING, *sb.* Place for building nests. E. xlvi. p. 194, l. 23.
NEEDS, *adv.* Of necessity; A. S. *nedes* the gen. of *ned*, need. E. ix. p. 30, l. 17, xii. p. 46, l. 4, xxiii. p. 96, l. 21.
NEERE UNTO. E. xv. p. 63, l. 1.
NEERNES, *sb.* Intimacy. C. 7. p. 259, l. 24.
NEGLECTING, *adj.* Negligent. E. iv. p. 15, l. 14.
NEIGHBOUR, *adj.* Neighbouring. E. xxix. p. 128, l. 10.
NEPHEW, *sb.* A grandson. E. xxix. p. 110, l. 9.
NEVER A. E. xiii. p. 49, l. 24, xxii. p. 95, l. 23, xxxii. p. 138, l. 11, xliii. p. 177, l. 14.
NEWELL, *sb.* "A pillar of stone or wood, where the steps terminate in a winding staircase." Kennett, MS. Lansd. 1033, quoted in Halliwell's *Dict.* E. xlv. p. 182, l. 33.

Naughty - worth naught or nothing

NEWES, *sb.* Used as a plural. E. xv. p. 54, l. 14.

NEW MEN, *sb.* Like the Lat. *novi homines*, men who have newly acquired rank. We are obliged to resort to the Fr. *parvenu* to express this. E. ix. p. 30, l. 25.

NICE, *adj.* Scrupulous. E. xxix. p. 123, l. 30, xxxvii. p. 156, l. 15.

NICENESSE, *sb.* Fastidiousness. E. ii. p. 6, l. 16.

NOBLESSE, *sb.* Nobility. E. xv. p. 60, l. 16.

NOTABLE, *adj.* Remarkable. E. liii. p. 215, l. 3.

NOTABLY, *adv.* Notoriously, remarkably. E. xv. p. 60, l. 2, xxix. p. 121, l. 29.

NOTE, *sb.* Observation. E. ix. p. 31, l. 25. Information. E. xlix. p. 202, l. 24.

NOTHING NEARE. E. xxi. p. 89, l. 18.

,, WORTH. C. 10. p. 265, l. 12.

NOVELTIES, *sb.* Innovations. E. xvii. p. 69, l. 25.

NOURISH, *v. i.* To receive nourishment. E. xix. p. 80, l. 24.

O.

OBIECT, *p.p.* Exposed. C. 5. p. 254, l. 8.

OBLIGED, *p.p.* Bound. E. xx. p. 82, l. 7.

OBNOXIOUS TO. Exposed to, under the influence of; and hence, submissive, complaisant. E. xx. p. 86, l. 12, xxxvi. p. 155, l. 3, xliv. p. 179, l. 16.

OBTAINE, *v. i.* To attain; to gain a cause in law. E. vi. p. 19, l. 2, lvi. p. 225, l. 13.

OES, *sb.* Round bright spots. E. xxxvii. p. 157, l. 17. Used by Shakspere of the stars (*Mid. N.'s Dr.* iii. 2):

> Fair Helena, that more engilds the night
> Than all yon fiery *oes* and eyes of light.

OF. E. vi. p. 19, l. 10, p. 22, l. 2, xvii. p. 69, l. 21, xix. p. 79, l. 31, xxv. p. 102, l. 28, xxvii. p. 109, l. 34, xxx. p. 131, l. 3, xxxv. p. 151, l. 31, li. p. 208, l. 29, liii. p. 214, l. 1. C. 3. p. 249, l. 24. In all these passages 'of' would be replaced in modern usage by other prepositions, which the reader will easily supply. In a partitive sense. E. xxxiii. p. 142, l. 32, xvi. p. 65, l. 18. Of either side. E. xlvi. p. 189, l. 29. Of long. E. lvi. p. 224, l. 4. Of purpose. E. ix. p. 33, l. 17. Of the other side. C. 2. p. 249, l. 10.

OFFER, *sb.* An attempt. C. 10. p. 266, l. 16.

OFFICIOUS, *adj.* Ready to serve, like the Lat. *officiosus*; not in a bad sense. E. xlviii. p. 199, l. 27.

OFT, *adv.* Often. C. 1. p: 248, l. 4, 2. p. 248, l. 18. E. ii. p. 6, l. 21, viii. p. 27, l. 27, xxxiii. p. 142, l. 32.

OPINION, *sb.* Reputation. E. xxvi. p. 105, l. 30, liv. p. 217, l. 9.

ORACULOUS, *adj.* Oracular. E. vi. p. 20, l. 34.

ORANGE-TAWNEY, *adj*. Of a dark orange colour. In Knight's Shakspere (II. p. 250) it is said, Vecellio, a Venetian, "expressly informs us that the Jews differed in nothing, as far as regarded dress, from Venetians of the same professions, whether merchants, artisans, &c., with the exception of a *yellow bonnet*, which they were compelled to wear by order of the government." See also Sir W. Scott's description of Isaac of York in *Ivanhoe*, c. 5: "He wore a high square yellow cap of a peculiar fashion, assigned to his nation to distinguish them from Christians." E. xli. p. 168, l. 13.
ORDER, TO TAKE. To take measures. E. xxxvi. p. 153, l. 20.
ORDERING, *sb*. Arrangement. E. xlvi. p. 186, l. 10, p. 190, l. 32. lviii, p. 237, l. 33.
OTHER, *pl*. Others. E. viii. p. 26, l. 15, xxiv. p. 100, l. 13.
OVERCOME, *v. t*. In the phrase 'to *overcome* a bargain,' to master it, and make it one's own. E. xxxiv. p. 146, l. 15.
OVER-GREAT, *adj*. Excessive. E. xvii. p. 69, l. 21.
OVERGREATNESSE, *sb*. Excessive greatness. E. xx. p. 85, l. 16.
OVER-LIVE, *v. t*. To survive. E. xxvii. p. 109, l. 31.
OVER-POWER, *sb*. Excessive power. E. lviii. p. 236, l. 17.
OVER-SPEAKING, *adj*. Speaking too much. E. lvi. p. 224, l. 17.
OVERTHROWEN, *p.p*. Overthrown. E. xv. p. 56, l. 2.
OYNTMENT, *sb*. Perfume. E. liii. p. 213, l. 19.

P.

PACE, *v. i*. To proceed. E. xxxiv. p. 145, l. 20.
PAIRE, *v. t*. To impair. E. xxiv. p. 100, l. 13.
PALME, *sb*. A handbreadth. E. xix. p. 78, l. 1.
PARABLE, *sb*. A proverb. E. xxvii. p. 110, l. 22.
PARDON, *sb*. Permission. E. xliii. p. 177, l. 20.
PART, *sb*. Party. E. xvi. p. 66, l. 13.
PARTICULAR, *adj*. Partial. E. lviii. p. 231, l. 22.
,, *sb*. Used as a substantive, like 'private,' &c. E. xv. p. 61, l. 34.
PASS, *v. t*. To surpass. F. p. 239, l. 14.
PASSAGES, *sb*. Digressions. E. xxv. p. 102, l. 25.
PASSING, *adv*. Surpassingly, exceedingly. E. vi. p. 19, l. 13.
PASTURAGES, *sb*. Pastures. E. xv. p. 60, l. 13.
PAWNES, *sb*. Pledges. E. xli. p. 170, l. 17.
PEECE, *v. i*. To fit. E. xxiv. p. 97, l. 21.
PENURY, *sb*. Want. E. xxix. p. 123, l. 17.
PENYWORTH, *sb*. A purchase. C. 9. p. 264, l. 3.
PERCASE, *adv*. Perhaps. C. 3. p. 250, l. 7.
PERCEIVING, *sb*. Perception. E. liii. p. 213, l. 11.

PEREMPTORY, *adj.* In its literal sense of deadly, destructive. E. xv. p. 61, l. 19.
PERIOD, *sb.* Termination, completion. E. xlii. p. 174, l. 23.
PERISH, *v. t.* To destroy. E. xxvii. p. 110, l. 18.
PERSONAGE, *sb.* A representation of the human face. E. xliii. p. 177, l. 4, 6.
PERSUADE, *v. t.* To recommend. E. iii. p. 13, l. 32.
PHANTASME, *sb.* A phantom. E. xxxv. p. 150, l. 8.
PINCK, *sb.* 'The *blush* Pincke' is merely a variety of the common Pink. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 18. 'The *matted* Pinck' is called by Parkinson (*Paradisus*, p. 316, ed. 1629) *Caryophyllus minor repens*, and is described as "the smallest, both for leafe and flower of all other Pinkes that are nourished in Gardens." The same Latin name is given by Ray to the Maiden Pink, *Dianthus deltoides*. In the 2nd edition of Gerarde, Parkinson's plate is copied, and the flower is called *C. virgineus*. Miller (*Gard. Dict.* 7th ed. 1759) describes a kind of *Dianthus* as "the small creeping or Maiden Pink, commonly called the mated Pink by seedsmen." He afterwards says it was used for the edgings of borders. I cannot identify it. E. xlvi. p. 188, l. 32.
PINE-APPLE-TREE, *sb.* The Pine. E. xlvi. p. 186, l. 17.
PITIE, *sb.* Used like 'reason' for the corresponding adjective. E. xli. p. 168, l. 2.
PLACE, *sb.* Topic. F. p. 240, l. 6.
,, TAKE. To have effect. E. xxxi. p. 134, l. 11, xlix. p. 202, l. 21.
PLACED, *p. p.* Put in place, or position. E. xi. p. 42, l. 10, li. p. 208, l. 20.
PLACING, *sb.* Position. E. lviii. p. 233, l. 16.
PLAIE-PLEASURE, *sb.* E. ix. p. 30, l. 17.
PLANT, *v. t.* To colonize. E. xxxiii. p. 139, l. 22.
PLANTATION, *sb.* Colony. E. xxxiii.
PLASH, *sb.* A pool, or puddle. C. 4. p. 251, l. 11.
PLATFORM, *sb.* Plan. E. xlvi. p. 194. l. 25.
PLAUSIBLE, *adj.* Praiseworthy, deserving applause. E. ix. p. 34, l. 26, xv. p. 55, l. 12. In lvi. p. 222, l. 11, it seems to mean 'courting applause,' and so approaches to the modern sense.
PLEASURING, *pr. p.* Pleasing. E. xxxvi. p. 154, l. 27.
PLENTIFUL, *adj.* Lavish. E. xxviii. p. 117, l. 6.
PLIE, *sb.* Bend, twist. E. xxxix. p. 164, l. 3.
POESY, *sb.* Poetry. E. i. p. 2, l. 18, v. p. 16, l. 14. C. 9. p. 264, l. 9.
POINT, *v. t.* To appoint. E. xlv. p. 183, l. 2, lviii. p. 237, l. 26.
POINT DEVICE, *adj.* Exact. E. lii. p. 212, l. 8.
POLER, *sb.* An exacter of fees. E. lvi. p. 226, l. 17.
POLING, *adj.* Exacting. E. lvi. p. 226, l. 2.
POLITICKES, *sb.* Politicians. E. iii. p. 9, l. 31, vi. p. 18, l. 5.
POLITIQUE, *sb.* A politician. E. xiii. p. 49, l. 28.
,, *adj.* 'The *Politique* Body,' the body politic, or state. E. xii. p. 45, l. 12. *Politique* Ministers, or Ministers of State. E. xxix. p. 127, l. 6. *Politique* persons = politicians. E. ix. p. 32, l. 30.

POLL, *sb.* Head; whence 'poll,' a reckoning or census of heads. E. xxix. p. 122, l. 15.
POPULAR, *adj.* Democratic. E. xii. p. 45, l. 5.
POPULARITIE, *sb.* A courting of popular favour. E. xlviii. p. 199, l. 11.
POPULARITIES, *sb.* Popular representations. Pref. to Colours, p. 245.
PORTRAITURE, *sb.* Portrait. E. xiii. p. 49, l. 1.
POSER, *sb.* An examiner, who *poses* or puts questions. Still in use at Eton and Winchester. E. xxxii. p. 137, l. 19.
POWER, *sb.* 'To have power with' is 'to have influence over.' E. xxvii. p. 108, l. 33.
PRACTISE, PRACTIZE, *sb.* Plot, plotting. E. iii. p. 12, l. 19, xxii. p. 91, l. 15, xlvii. p. 196, l. 25.
PRAY IN AID. To call in as an advocate. Comp. *Adv. of L.* II. 17, § 9: "For it is a Rule, that whatsoeuer Science is not consonant to presuppositions, must *pray in ayde* of Similitudes." E. xxvii. p. 111, l. 6.
PRECEDENT, *adj.* Preceding, previous. E. xix. p. 78, l. 13.
PRECISELY, *adv.* With precision, exactness. E. xli. p. 170, l. 18.
PREDICTIONS, *sb.* Prognostics. E. xv. p. 56, l. 33.
PREDIGESTION, *sb.* Premature digestion. E. xxv. p. 101, l. 3.
PREDOMINANCIE, *sb.* Predominance. C. 7. p. 259, l. 5. E. xxxix. p. 163, l. 2.
PREFER BEFORE. To make superior to, promote above. E. xxiii. p. 97, l. 7. Comp. Esth. ii. 9.
PREHEMINENCE, *sb.* Rank. E. ix. p. 33, l. 7.
PREOCCUPATE, *v. t.* To anticipate. E. ii. p. 6, l. 11.
PRESCRIPTION, *sb.* Title, claim. E. xlvii. p. 196, l. 12.
PRESENCE, CHAMBER OF. Reception room. E. xlv. p. 183, l. 28.
PRESENT, AT THIS. At the present time, now. E. xliv. p. 179, l. 14.
PRESENTLY, *adv.* Immediately. E. xli. p. 170, l. 7. Comp. 1 Sam. ii. 16; Matt. xxvi. 53.
PRESIDENTS, *sb.* Precedents. E. xi. p. 41, l. 10, xxiv. p. 99, l. 6.
PRESS, *v. t.* To press upon, oppress. E. xiv. p. 52, l. 2.
PRESSED, *p.p.* Urged, enforced. E. xix. p. 76, l. 30, lvi. p. 224, l. 2.
PREST, *adj.* Ready. E. xxix. p. 127, l. 8.
PRETEND, *v. t.* To put forward as a pretext. E. xxiv. p. 100, l. 21.
,, *v. i.* To make pretension. E. xxxii. p. 138, l. 3.
PREVAIL, *v. i.* To succeed. E. xlvii. p. 196, l. 9.
PREVENT, *v. t.* To anticipate. E. lvi. p. 224, l. 23. Comp. Ps. cxix. 148.
PRICE, *sb.* Value. C. 5. p. 256, l. 10, 9. p. 264, l. 13. Comp. Prov. xxxi. 10; Matt. xiii. 46.
PRICK, *v. t.* To set, plant. E. xviii. p. 74, l. 7, xlvi. p. 193, l. 9.

PRIME, *sb.* E. lviii. p. 233, l. 27. See the passage itself.
PRIME, *adj.* Best. E. xxxiv. p. 146, l. 15.
PRIMUM MOBILE. E. xv. p. 56, l. 18, li. p. 209, l. 17. See note on p. 56.
PRINCIPIALL, *adj.* Initial. E. xxxv. p. 151, l. 6.
PRIVADOES, *sb.* Intimate friends, favorites. The Duchess of Burgundy, after instructing Perkin Warbeck in his part, "sent him unknowne into Portugall, with the Lady Brampton, an English Ladie, that embarqued for Portugall at that time; with some *Privado* of her owne to haue an eye upon him." *Hist. of Hen.* 7, p. 117, ed. 1622. E. xxvii. p. 108, l. 7.
PRIVATE, *sb.* Used as a substantive. Comp. B. Jonson, *Sejanus*, iii. 1: "My Lord, this strikes at every Roman's *private*." E. xxxiii. p. 141, l. 6.
PRIVATENESSE, *sb.* Privacy. E. xi. p. 39, l. 18.
PRIVIE, *adj.* Private. E. xlv. p. 184, l. 29.
PROCEEDING, *sb.* Course of action, policy. E. xv. p. 61, l. 16, p. 62, l. 10.
PROFIT, *v. i.* To make progress. E. xlii. p. 175, l. 7, xxix. p. 126, l. 8.
PROPER, *adj.* Peculiar. E. vii. p. 23, l. 9. Personal. E. xxvii. p. 115, l. 15, lvii. p. 230, l. 9.
PROPOUND, *v. t.* To propose. C. 4. p. 251, l. 13.
PROPRIETY, *sb.* Property, peculiarity. E. iii. p. 9, l. 14.
PROSPECTIVE, *sb.* Perspective glasses, which were apparently used to produce the same solid appearance as the modern stereoscope. E. xxvi. p. 104, l. 13. Chaucer, *Squire's Tale*, 10548:

"They speak of Alhazen and Vitilyon
And Aristotle, that writen in her lyves
Of queynte myrrours and *prospectyves*."

PROYNING, *sb.* Pruning. E. l. p. 204, l. 16.
PULING, *sb.* A whining. E. xxxvii. p. 157, l. 13.
PURCHASE, *v. t.* To acquire, procure. E. iv. p. 14, l. 16, lv. p. 219, l. 12.
,, *sb.* Acquisition. C. 9. p. 263, l. 7.
PURPOSE, OF. Purposely. E. ix. p. 33, l. 18.
,, HAD A. Purposed. F. p. 241, l. 4.
,, HAD IN. Purposed. F. p. 240, l. 18.
PURPRISE, *sb.* An inclosure, precinct. E. lvi. p. 225, l. 30.
PUT ABROAD. Spread out. E. xxvii. p. 111, l. 33.
PUT UP. To offer as a prayer. E. xxxix. p. 163, l. 18.
PUTRIFIE, *v. t.* To corrupt. E. xlix. p. 201, l. 2.
PYTHONISSA, *sb.* A woman possessed with the spirit of Python, or divination. See note. E. xxxv. p. 149, l. 5.

Q.

QUADLINS, *sb.* Codlings. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 29.
QUALITIE, *sb.* Rank. E. xv. p. 59, l. 17, liii. p. 213, l. 15.
QUARRELL, *sb.* Lit. a cause of complaint; hence any cause or reason. E. viii. p. 28, l. 5, xxix. p. 126, l. 30.

QUARTER, TO KEEP. To keep one's proper place, and so be on good terms with another. E. x. p. 38, l. 5, xxii. p. 94, l. 1.
QUEECHING, *sb.* Crying out. But see note. E. xxxix. p. 163, l. 16.
QUICKNING, *sb.* A giving life to. E. xli. p. 171, l. 6.
QUIDDITIE, *sb.* Lit. somethingness, opposed to 'nullity,' or nothingness: an old scholastic term denoting essential substance. C. 10. p. 264, l. 23.
QUIRE, *sb.* A choir. E. xxxvii. p. 156, l. 16.

R.

RACES, *sb.* Breeds. E. xxix. p. 120, l. 10.
RANGE, *v. t.* To set in order, arrange. E. lviii. p. 237, l. 28.
RANGED, *p.p.* Planted in ranges or rows. E. xlvi. p. 194, l. 5.
RANGES, *sb.* Rows. E. xlvi. p. 193, l. 28.
RASPES, *sb.* Raspberries. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 22.
RATHEST, *adv.* Soonest: superlative of *rathe*, early, used adverbially. C. 1. p. 248, l. 1.
RAVENING, *adj.* Plundering. 'Ravening fowle' are 'birds of prey'. F. p. 240, l. 2.
RAVISH, *v. t.* To sweep hastily away. E. xvii. p. 69, l. 4.
REASON, *sb.* In the phrases 'it is reason', 'it were reason', where we should use the adjective 'reasonable'. E. viii. p. 26, l. 8, xi. p. 39, l. 17, xiv. p. 52, l. 26.
RECAMERA, *sb.* A back chamber. E. xlv. p. 184, l. 33.
RECEIPT, *sb.* Receptacle. E. xlvi. p. 191, l. 24.
RECIPROQUE, *adj.* Reciprocal. E. x. p. 37, l. 21. Used as a substantive. E. ix. p. 37, l. 23.
RECONCILEMENT, *sb.* Reconciliation. E. iii. p. 10, l. 17.
RECREATIVE, *adj.* Recreating, refreshing. E. xxxvii. p. 157, l. 32.
REDUCED, *p.p.* Brought within bounds. E. lviii. p. 238, l. 8.
REFERENDARIES, *sb.* Referees. E. xlix. p. 202, l. 13.
REFLECT, *v. i.* To be reflected. Used as an intransitive verb. E. xxix. p. 120, l. 10.
REFRAINED, *p.p.* Bridled, restrained, held in check. E. lvii. p. 228, l. 10. See note on p. 119, l. 9.
REFRAINING, *sb.* Bridling, restraining. E. lvii. p. 229, l. 32.
REGARD, IN. Because. E. xxix. p. 122, l. 23.
REGIMENT, *sb.* Regimen. E. xxx.
REIGLEMENT, *sb.* Regulation. E. xli. p. 170, l. 31.
REINES, *sb.* The kidneys (Lat. *renes*). E. l. p. 205, l. 30.
RELATION, *sb.* Narrative. E. x. p. 37, l. 27.
REMEMBRING, *adj.* Mindful. E. xi. p. 43, l. 17.
REMOVE, *sb.* Removal. C. 6. p. 256, l. 31.
REMOVER, *sb.* A restless man. E. xl. p. 166, l. 23.
REPOSED, *p.p.* Settled, calm. E. xlii. p. 173, l. 17.
REPUTED, *p.p.* Well reputed of, of good reputation. E. xv. p. 63, l. 10.

RESEMBLANCE, *sb.* Comparison. E. lvi. p. 226, l. 18.
RESEMBLED, *p.p.* Compared. E. xx. p. 83, l. 34.
RESORT, *sb.* Apparently used in the sense of a spring or fountain. In this case the phrase 'resorts and falls' is illustrated by the following quotation from Fuller (*Holy State*, xxv): Mr Perkins "was born the first, and died the last year of Queen Elizabeth, so that his life streamed in equal length with her reign, and they both had their *fountains and falls* together." See the note. In the *De Aug.* the true reading is probably *fontes* for *fomites*. E. xxii. p. 95, l. 21.
RESPECT, *v. t.* To regard, consider. E. xxx. p. 132, l. 26.
,, *sb.* Consideration. E. xi. p. 42, l. 23, xiv. p. 51, l. 17, xxiii. p. 97, l. 25, lii. p. 212, l. 1.
,, IN. In case. E. xxviii. p. 116, l. 20.
REST, *sb.* Have set up their *rest* = have staked their all. Nares (*Glossary*) thus explains it: "A metaphor from the once fashionable and favourite game of primero; meaning to stand upon the cards you have in your hand, in hopes they may prove better than those of your adversary." E. xxix. p. 128, l. 27.
REST, *v. i.* To remain. E. xxxvi. p. 154, l. 16.
RESTRAINED, *p.p.* Restricted. E. xxvii. p. 112, l. 3.
RETIRING, *sb.* Retirement. E. l. p. 204, l. 3.
RETURNES, *sb.* Parts of a house built out at the back. E. xlv. p. 182, l. 7.
REVEREND, *adj.* Venerable, deserving of reverence or respect. E. xiv. p. 52, l. 15, xx. p. 86, l. 10, lvi. p. 222, l. 10.
RIBES, *sb.* Probably the *Ribes rubrum*, or red currant. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 22.
RICH, *adj.* Valuable, precious. E. xxv. p. 102, l. 1.
RID, *v. t.* To get rid of, dispose of. E. xxix. p. 125, l. 11.
RIGHT, *adv.* Very. E. xxiii. p. 96, l. 9.
RIOTER, *sb.* A riotous or dissolute person. C. 7. p. 259, l. 25.
RISE, *sb.* Origin, source. E. xxxiv. p. 147, l. 24.
RISING, *pr. p.* Arising. E. vi. p. 21, l. 10.
ROUND, *adj.* Plain, straightforward. E. i. p. 3, l. 25.
,, *adv.* Swiftly, uninterruptedly. E. vi. p. 22, l. 2, xxiv. p. 100, l. 4.
RUN A DANGER = run a risk. E. xxvii. p. 113, l. 30.

SACIETY, *sb.* Satiety. E. ii. p. 6, l. 16, lii. p. 211, l. 20.
SAD, *adj.* Sober, grave; dark coloured. E. v. p. 17, l. 21. F. p. 240, l. 4.
SALTNESSE, *sb.* Wit. E. xxxii. p. 137, l. 9.
SANCTUARY-MEN, *sb.* Men who had claimed the privilege of sanctuary. C. 7, p. 259, l. 19.
SARZA, *sb.* Sarsaparilla. E. xxvii. p. 107, l. 20.
SATYRIAN, *sb.* The orchis. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 23. The sweet

satyrian with the white flower is probably the butterfly orchis.

SAVE, *adv.* Except. E. xx. p. 87, l. 23, xlv. p. 185, l. 15.

SCANT, *adv.* Scarcely. C. 1, p. 247, l. 16.

,, *v. t.* To limit. E. xlv. p. 181, l. 10.

SCANTLING, *sb.* Limit, dimension. E. lv. p. 221, l. 11.

SCUTCHION, *sb.* Escutcheon. E. xxix. p. 129, l. 16.

SEAT, *sb.* Site. E. xlv. p. 180, l. 7.

SEA-WATER-GREENE, *adj.* Sea-green. E. xxxvii. p. 157, l. 17.

SECRET, *adj.* Silent. E. vi. p. 19, l. 31.

SECRETTED, *p.p.* Kept secret. E. vi. p. 18, l. 19.

SEEK, TO. At a loss. E. xli. p. 171, l. 11.

SEELED, *p.p.* Having the eyes closed. Hawks were tamed by sewing up their eyelids till they became tractable. E. xxxvi. p. 154, l. 10.

SEELINGS, *sb.* Wainscottings. E. liv. p. 217, l. 29.

SENSIBLE OF. Sensitive to E. viii. p. 27, l. 4.

SENSITIVE, *adj.* Sensible. B. Jonson, *Sejanus*, v. 10. C. 10. p. 265, l. 33.

SENSUAL, *adj.* Affecting the senses. E. xvii. p. 69, l. 19.

SENTENCE, *sb.* Sentiment, opinion. E. ii. p. 6, l. 31, lviii. p. 231, l. 4.

SEQUESTER, *v. t.* To withdraw. E. xxvii. p. 106, l. 12.

SET UPON, *v. t.* To attack. E. xxix. p. 120, l. 22.

SEVERALL, *adj.* Separate, different. E. vi. p. 18, l. 16, xix. p. 81, l. 6, xli. p. 171, l. 8.

SHADOW, *sb.* Shade. E. xi. p. 30, l. 19.

SHAPEN, *p.p.* Shaped, formed. E. xxiv. l. 2.

SHEEPE-MASTER, *sb.* An owner of sheep. Comp. 2 K. iii. 4. E. xxxiv. p. 146, l. 5.

SHEW, *sb.* Appearance. E. liii. p. 213, l. 11.

,, *v. t.* To cause to appear. E. ii. p. 6, l. 2.

SHEWED, *p.p.* Shewn. E. vi. p. 18, l. 20.

SHINE, *v. t.* To cause to shine. E. xiii. p. 48, l. 29.

SHREWD, *adj.* Mischievous. E. xxiii. p. 96, l. 2.

SHRIFT, *sb.* Confession. E. xxvii. p. 107, l. 27.

SHUT OUT, *v. t.* To exclude. E. xli. p. 171, l. 23.

x SIDE, *v. t.* To stand by. E. xi. p. 43, l. 8. *v. refl.* To range oneself. E. li. p. 209, l. 2.

,, ON THE OTHER. On the other hand. E. xx. p. 86, l. 1, xli. p. 169, l. 34.

SIGNES, *sb.* E. lviii. p. 234, l. 29. Used as in the New Testament.

SIMILITUDE, *sb.* Comparison, parable. Comp. Hos. xii. 10. E. xvii. p. 69, l. 32.

SIMULATION, *sb.* A pretending to be that which one is not. E. vi. throughout.

SINGULAR, *adj.* Single. E. xxix. p. 124, l. 11.

SIT, *v. i.* In the phrase 'to *sit at* a great rent,' for 'to be subject to a great rent.' E. xli. p. 169, l. 12.

SKIRTS, *sb.* Train. E. vi. p. 21, l. 4.

SLIDE, *sb.* Smooth motion. E. xiv. p. 53, l. 4, xl. p. 167, l. 13.
SLIGHT, *v. t.* To pass slightly. E. xii. p. 45, l. 28.
SLOPE, *adj.* Sloping. E. xlvi. p. 190, l. 19.
SLUGGE, *sb.* Hindrance. E. xli. p. 169, l. 30.
SMOTHER, *sb.* 'To keep in *smother*' is 'to stifle;' and 'to pass in *smother*,' 'to be stifled.' E. xxvii. p. 112, l. 11, xxxi. p. 134, l. 22.
SO. Such. E. xxvii. p. 110, l. 2.
SOBERLY, *adv.* Moderately. E. xxix. p. 121, l. 11.
SO FARRE FORTH. So far. E. xlix. p. 202, l. 21.
SOFTLY, *adv.* Gently. E. vi. p. 19, l. 7, xv. p. 56, l. 21. Comp. Gen. xxxiii. 14; Is. viii. 6.
SOME, *pr.* One, some one. E. ix. p. 35, l. 14, xxviii. p. 117, l. 6.
SOMETIME, *adv.* Sometimes. E. x. p. 38, l. 18.
SOOTHSAYER, *sb.* Literally, 'truth-teller;' a teller of future events. E. xxxv. p. 150, l. 6.
SOPHY, *sb.* The shah of Persia. E. xliii. p. 176, l. 14.
SORT, *v. i.* To agree. E. vi. p. 18, l. 6, xxvii. p. 115, l. 20, xxxviii. p. 160, l. 34. To associate, consort. E. vii. p. 24, l. 11. To result, issue. E. xxvii. p. 108, l. 5, xxix. p. 124, l. 4. To arrange. E. xlv. p. 181, l. 15.
,, *sb.* Class, kind. E. xv. p. 60, l. 20.
,, IN A. In a manner. E. xli. p. 172, l. 30.
SPAKE. Past tense of 'speak.' E. i. p. 2, l. 23.
SPANGS, *sb.* Spangles. E. xxxvii. p. 157, l. 17.
SPECIALLY, *adv.* Especially. E. lviii. p. 233, l. 14.
SPECULATIVE, *adj.* Inquisitive. E. xx. p. 86, l. 2.
SPEND, *v. t.* To consume. E. xxxiii. p. 140, l. 3.
SPEW OUT, *v. t.* To reject with loathing. E. lvi. p. 223, l. 15. Comp. Rev. iii. 16.
SPIALLS, *sb.* Spies. E. xliv. p. 179, l. 19.
SPIRITS, *sb.* 'High and great *spirits*,' men of high courage. E. ii. p. 6, l. 23, xliii. p. 176, l. 15.
SPOKEN TO, *p. p.* Discussed. E. xx. p. 87, l. 5.
SPONNE, *p. p.* Spun. E. xxxv. p. 151, l. 3.
SPREAD, *adj.* Wide spreading. C. 7. p. 258, l. 28.
STABLISHED, *p. p.* Established. E. xxxiv. p. 148, l. 9.
STADDLES, *sb.* Young trees left standing in a wood after the underwood has been cut away. E. xxix. p. 122, l. 10.
STAID, *p. p.* Steady. E. lvi. p. 224, l. 34.
STALE, *sb.* Stale mate at chess. E. xii. p. 46, l. 7.
STAND, *sb.* A standstill, stagnation. E. xli. p. 170, l. 7.
,, AT A. At a loss. E. i. p. 1, l. 17.
STAND UPON. To insist upon. E. xxix. p. 126, l. 9.
,, WITH. To be consistent with. E. xxxiii. p. 139, l. 18.
STATE, *sb.* Stability. G. 9. p. 262, l. 12. Estate. E. xxviii. p. 117, l. 21, xxxiv. p. 148, l. 7.
STATELY, *adv.* In a stately manner. E. xlvi. p. 186, l. 8.
STATUA, *sb.* Statue. E. xxvii. p. 112, l. 19, xxxvii. p. 157, l. 28, xlv. p. 182, l. 29.

STAY, STAND AT A. To stand still. E. xii. p. 46, l. 7, xiv. p. 52, l. 32, xix. p. 76, l. 5, lviii. p. 231, l. 16.

,, TO, GIVE. To check, hinder. E. lviii. p. 234, l. 6.

STICKE, *v. i.* To hesitate. E. xxii. p. 95, l. 2, lvi. p. 222, l. 6.

STIFFE, *adj.* Stubborn. E. li. p. 207, l. 20.

STILE, *sb.* Title. E. xxix. p. 129, l. 22, xxxv. p. 151, l. 11.

STIRPS, *sb.* Races, families; literally, stems, stocks. Lat. *stirpes.* E. xiv. p. 51, l. 11.

STIRRE, *v. t.* To move, excite. E. xi. p. 41, l. 20, liii. p. 214, l. 18.

STOCK-GILLY-FLOWER, *sb.* The common stock. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 10.

STOND, *sb.* Stop, hindrance. E. xl. p. 165, l. 16, l. p. 205, l. 26.

STOOVED, *p. p.* Warmed by a stove. E. xlvi. p. 186, l. 21.

STOPPINGS, *sb.* Stoppages. E. xxvii. p. 107, l. 17.

STORE, *sb.* Quantity. E. xxxiii. p. 140, l. 26.

STOUT, *adj.* Strong, vigorous. E. xxxi. p. 131, l. 13, xxxvi. p. 155, l. 4.

STOUTEST, *adj.* Most vigorous. E. xxxi. p. 134, l. 11.

STRAIGHT, *adv.* Immediately, directly. E. xxii. p. 94, l. 7.

STRAIGHTWAIES, *adv.* Directly. E. xix. p. 78, l. 2, xxii. p. 95, l. 14.

STRAIN, *sb.* 'To take too high a *strain*,' to make too great an effort. Comp. *Adv. of L.* II. 22, § 10: "The first shal bee. that wee beware wee take not at the first either to High a *strayne* or to weake." E. xlii. p. 175, l. 31.

STRAIT, *adj.* Strict. E. xv. p. 60, l. 11.

SUBMIT, *v. refl.* 'Submit,' like many other words, as *assemble*, *endeavour*, *repent*, *retire*, was formerly used with a reflexive pronoun. E. xxxiv. p. 147, l. 31.

SUCCESSE, *sb.* The result, good or bad. The word 'success' now by itself used always in a good sense, was generally accompanied by a qualifying adjective. Comp. Josh. i. 8. E. xlvii. p. 195, l. 19.

SUDDAINE, UPON THE. Suddenly. E. xxix. p. 124, l. 1.

SUFFICIENCIE, *sb.* Ability, capacity. E. xi. p. 42, l. 33, xx. p. 82, l. 10, lv. p. 221, l. 15.

SUFFICIENT, *adj.* Able. E. lii. p. 211, l. 32.

SUGAR MAN, *sb.* The owner of a sugar plantation. E. xxxiv. p. 147, l. 10.

SURCHARGE, *sb.* Overcharge, excessive burden. The following quotation from Blackstone's *Comm.* III. 16, illustrates Bacon's usage of the word: "Another disturbance of common is by *surcharging* it; or putting more cattle therein than the pasture and herbage will sustain, or the party hath a right to do." E. xiv. p. 52, l. 9, xxxiii. p. 142, l. 15.

SURFET, *v. i.* To gorge oneself. E. vii. p. 24, l. 12.

,, *sb.* Excess of eating or drinking, and its consequences: here used metaphorically for that which causes loathing or disgust. E. lvi. p. 223, l. 16.

SUSPECT, *sb.* A thing suspected. E. xxiv. p. 100, l. 23, liii. p. 213, l. 22.

SUSPECT, *p. p.* Suspected, suspicious. E. li. p. 208, l. 32.
SUSTENTATION, *sb.* Sustenance. E. lviii. p. 236, l. 28.
SUTE, *sb.* Order, succession. E. lviii. p. 233, l. 24.
SWAY, BEAR. To have influence. E. xvii. p. 69, l. 10.
SWELLING, *sb.* Bombast, arrogance. E. i. p. 3, l. 18.
SWEET WOODS, *sb.* Spices. E. xxxiii. p. 141, l. 21.
SWITZERS, *sb.* Swiss. E. xiv. p. 51, l. 15.
SYBILLA, *sb.* The Sibyl. Compare *Adv. of L.* II. 23, § 28. "As Tarquinius that gaue for the third part of *Sybillaes* books the treeble price, when he mought at first haue had all three for the simple." C. 10, p. 264, l. 29.

T.

TAKE, *v. t.* To catch, captivate. E. xxxvii. p. 156, l. 21.
TARRASSES, *sb.* Terraces. E. xlv. p. 185, l. 23.
TEMPER, *sb.* Mixture, temperament. E. xix. p. 76, l. 17.
TEMPERANCE, *sb.* Moderation. E. v. p. 17, l. 5.
TEMPERATE, *adj.* Moderate. E. xxxiii. p. 142, l. 2.
TEMPERATURE, *sb.* Temperament. E. vi. p. 22, l. 10.
TEND, *v. t.* To attend to. E. xi. p. 40, l. 13.
TENDER, *adj.* Delicate. E. xv. p. 62, l. 27, xxii. p. 93, l. 4, xlvii. p. 195, l. 11.
TENDERING, *sb.* Nursing. E. xxx. p. 132, l. 30.
TENDERLY, *adv.* Delicately, scrupulously. E. xv. p. 55, l. 31.
TERM, *sb.* The subject or predicate of a logical proposition. E. iii. p. 11, l. 30.
TEXT, *sb.* A quotation. "Society (saith the *text*) is the happiness of life." Shaks. *Love's L. Lost*, iv. 2. E. xii. p. 44, l. 1.
THAT, *pr.* That which. E. vi. p. 19, l. 28, xii. p. 44, l. 7, xiii. p. 47, l. 2, xxii. p. 92, l. 20, lvii. p. 228, l. 19.
THEN, *conj.* Than.
THEOLOGUES, *sb.* Theologians. E. liii. p. 215, l. 2.
THOROW, *prep.* Through. E. v. p. 17, l. 3, xlv. p. 184, l. 11.
THOROW-LIGHTS, *sb.* Lights or windows on both sides of a room. E. xlv. p. 183, l. 31.
THROUGHLY, *adv.* Thoroughly. E. xvi. p. 65, l. 6, lvii. p. 228, l. 17.
TILLER, *sb.* Cultivator. E. xxix. p. 125, l. 18.
TIMBER MAN, *sb.* A proprietor of timber. E. xxxiv. p. 146, l. 6.
TO, *prep.* For. The usage of 'to' in this sense, as indicating the object, is still common in the north. E. xxxiii. p. 141, l. 1.
TOUCH, *v. t.* To refer to, glance at. E. xxix. p. 130, l. 17.
TOUCH, *sb.* Reference. "Speech of *touch*" is speech that touches or affects another. E. xxxii. p. 138, l. 3. In E. lvii. p. 229, l. 28, it seems to mean sensitiveness.
TOUCHING, *prep.* With reference to. E. ix. p. 35, l. 8, xi. p. 41, l. 26.

TOURNEY, *sb.* A tournament. E. xxxvii. p. 158, l. 7.
TOWARDNESSE, *sb.* Docility. E. xix. p. 79, l. 5.
TOWNESMEN, *sb.* Citizens. "Here come the *townsmen* on procession." Shaks. 2 Hen. 6, ii. 1. E. xi. p. 39, l. 20.
TOY, *sb.* A trifle. E. xix. p. 75, l. 16, xxxvii. p. 156, l. 1, lviii. p. 233, l. 19.
TRACT, *sb.* '*Tract* of yeares' is length of years, like the Lat. *tractus senectutis.* E. xlii. p. 175, l. 23. Trait. E. vi. p. 20, l. 18.
TRANSCENDENCES, *sb.* Extravagances. E. v. p. 16, l. 14.
TRASH, *sb.* Any thing worthless; used as a cant word for money: "Pelfe, *trash*, id est, money," Florio, p. 63. E. xiii. p. 50, l. 9.
TRAVAILE, *sb.* Toil, labour. E. xxix. p. 125, l. 6.
TRAVELS, *sb.* Labours. E. ix. p. 32, l. 25.
TREATIES, *sb.* Treatises. E. iii. p. 10, l. 5.
TRENCH TO. To trench on. E. lvi. p. 227, l. 9.
TRIBUNITIOUS, *adj.* Lit. like a tribune, and so, violent, turbulent. E. xx. p. 87, l. 29.
TRIUMPH, *sb.* A festival shew. E. xlv. p. 182, l. 5.
TRIVIALL, *adj.* Trite. E. iii. p. 10, l. 29, xii. p. 44, l. 1, xxxv. p. 150, l. 34.
TRIVIALLY, *adv.* Tritely. E. xxix. p. 121, l. 4.
TROTH, *sb.* Truth. E. vi. p. 21, l. 30.
TRY IT, TO. To contend. E. xix. p. 79, l. 26.
TULIPPA, *sb.* Tulip. In Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum*

sus, pp. 48—50, ed. 1629) mentions 15 varieties, 16 of the early purple, 11 of the early red, and 7 of the early yellow.
TURK, THE GREAT. The Sultan of Turkey. F. p. 240, l. 33.
TURNE, FOR THAT. For that purpose. E. ix. p. 34, l. 5.
TURQUET, *sb.* Perhaps a puppet dressed as a Turk. E. xxxvii. p. 157, l. 27.
TUSH! *int.* A scornful interjection. C. 3. p. 250, l. 22.

U.

UNAWARES, AT. Unexpectedly. E. xlvii. p. 196, l. 27.
UNBLESSED, *adj.* Accursed. E. xxxiii. p. 139, l. 19.
UNCOMELY, *adj.* Unbecoming. E. vi. p. 20, l. 8.
UNDER FOOT. Below the true value. E. xli. p. 170, l. 12.
UNDER-SHERIFFRIES, *sb.* The offices of under-sheriffs. E. liii. p. 215, l. 7.
UNDERSTANDING, *adj.* Intelligent. E. lvi. p. 226, l. 23.
UNDERTAKER, *sb.* A contractor. E. xxxiii. p. 142, l. 1.
UNDERTAKING, *adj.* Enterprising. E. ix. p. 34, l. 6.
UNLIKE, *adv.* Unlikely. E. lviii. p. 236, l. 13.
UNPLEASING, *adj.* Unpleasant. E. i. p. 2, l. 16, xxii. p. 93, l. 4.
UNPROPER, *adj.* Improper. E. xxvii. p. 113, l. 4.

UNREADY, *adj.* Restive. E. xlii. p. 174, l. 19.
UNSECRETING, *sb.* Divulging, disclosure. E. xx. p. 84, l. 24.
UPBRAID UNTO. To reproach with. E. ix. p. 31, l. 22.
UPON. In the following phrases: Upon a wearinesse. E. ii. p. 6, l. 20. Upon Negligence. xxviii. p. 116, l. 18. Upon the suddaine. xxix. p. 124, l. 1. Upon vaine Confidence. p. 128, l. 20. Upon Speed. E. xxxiv. p. 145, l. 27. Upon necessitie. xxxvi. p. 153, l. 22. Upon Bravery. E. xxxvi. p. 155, l. 33. Upon affection. xlviii. p. 198, l. 10. Upon Conscience. E. xxxvi. p. 155, l. 32. Upon regard. lii. p. 211, l. 23. Upon facilitie. lii. p. 211, l. 23. Upon recovery. F. p. 240, l. 31. Redundant in E. xxxviii. p. 161, l. 4.
URE, *sb.* Use. E. vi. p. 21, l. 15. Ore. E. xxxiii. p 141, l. 14.
USE, *sb.* Interest. E. xli. p. 170, l. 17. Practice. E. li. p. 208, l. 19.
,, *v.i.* To be accustomed. E. xxii. p. 92, l. 7, xxvii. p. 111, l. 3, xxxv. p. 150, l. 7, xl. p. 166, l. 31.
USED, *p.p.* Practised. E. xi. p. 42, l. 4.

V.

sb. Used metaphorically in the sense of isposition. E. i. p. 1, l. 8, ix. p. 31, l. 18, xxxii. p. 137, l. 5.
VALEW, *v.t.* To give a value to; and so, to represent as trustworthy. E. xxxiv. p. 147, l. 5.
VANTAGE, *sb.* Advantage. E. xxix. p. 128, l. 34.
VECTURE, *sb.* Carriage. E. xv. p. 59, l. 30.
VENA PORTA. E. xix. p. 80, l. 21, xli. p. 169, l. 9. See note to p. 80.
VENDIBLE, *adj.* Saleable. E. xv. p. 59, l. 6.
VERSION, *sb.* Turning, direction. E. lviii. p. 233, l. 16.
VESTURE, *sb.* Garments, dress. E. iii. p. 11, l. 6.
VICTUAL, *sb.* Victuals. E. xxxiii. p. 140, l. 11.
VINDICATIVE, *adj.* Vindictive. E. iv. p. 15, l. 29.
VIZAR, *sb.* A visor, or mask. E. xxxvii. p. 157, l. 22.
VOICE, *v. t.* To proclaim, report. E. xi. p. 41, l. 22, xlix. p. 202, l. 31.
VOTARY, *adj.* '*Votary* resolution' is the resolution of a devotee. E. xxxix. p. 162, l. 21.
VOUCH, *v. t.* To quote, appeal to as authority. E. iii. p. 9, l. 23.
VULGAR, *adj.* Common. E. viii. p. 27, l. 20, xxix. p. 125, l. 17.

W.

WAGGISHNESSE, *sb.* A joke. E. xiii. p. 48, l. 4.
WAIT UPON, *v. t.* To watch. E. xxii. p. 92, l. 1, xxxiv. p. 146, l. 24, lviii. p. 233, l. 12.
WANTON, *sb.* A dissolute person. E. vii. p. 24, l. 6.
WARDEN, *sb.* A large baking pear. E. xlvi. p. 187, l. 34.
WARME, *adv.* Warmly. E. xlvi. p. 186, l. 21.
WAX, *v. i.* To grow. E. xlii. p. 175, l. 15.

WAY, GIVE BEST. To succeed best. E. li. p. 207, l. 18.
  ,, KEEP. To keep pace. E. xl. p. 165, l. 18.
  ,, PUT IN. We use the article, 'put in the way.' E. xxvii. p. 114, l. 8.
  ,, *sb.* Course. E. xxix. p. 128, l. 21. Road. E. xlv. p. 180, l. 19.
WAYES, NO. In no way. E. x. p. 38, l. 9, xxii. p. 95, l. 26, xxix. p. 123, l. 9.
WEALE, *sb.* Advantage. E. xiii. p. 47, l. 2, xxix. p. 119, l. 6.
WEATHER, *sb.* Storm. E. xiv. p. 52, l. 19, lvi. p. 226, l. 20.
WELT, *sb.* Border, edging. E. xlvi. p. 191, l. 5.
WERE BETTER. We should say 'had better.' E. xxvi. p. 105, l. 32, xxvii. p. 112, l. 9, xlix. p. 203, l. 12.
WHILE, *sb.* Time. E. li. p. 208, l. 4.
WHISPERER, *sb.* A detractor, malicious informer. E. xliv. p. 179, l. 19.
WHIT, *sb.* A bit, small portion. Never a *whit* = not at all. E. xii. p. 45, l. 23. No *whit*, in the same sense. E. xli. p. 172, l. 16, xlv. p. 184, l. 24.
WHO, *pr.* He who. E. ix. p. 30, l. 9, xxviii. p. 117, l. 21.
WHO SO, *pr.* Whoever. E. ix. p. 30, l. 10.
WILL, *v. t.* To desire, wish. E. xi. p. 40, l. 18, xix. p. 77, l. 10. C. 5, p. 255, l. 22.
WINDFALL, *sb.* Anything blown down by the wind. E. xxix. p. 124, l. 1.
-WISE. A termination denoting way, manner, fashion. E. xxxvii. p. 156, l. 18.
WISHED, *p.p.* Desired. E. v. p. 16, l. 3.
WIT, *sb.* E. vi. p. 18, l. 3, xliv. p. 179, l. 12.
WITH, *sb.* A branch of the willow-tree, which was formerly called a *withy*. E. xxxix. p. 163, l. 20.
WITHALL, *adv.* Besides. E. lviii. p. 234, l. 11.
WITTY, *adj.* Ingenious. E. iii. p. 10, l. 17, lvi. p. 222, l. 10. In E. l. p. 205, l. 22, witty corresponds more nearly to the Fr. *spirituel* than to any modern English word.
WON, *p.p.* Gained. E. l. p. 204, l. 22.
WONDERFUL, *adv.* Wonderfully. E. xii. p. 44, l. 18.
WONDERMENTS, *sb.* Surprises. E. xxxvii. p. 156, l. 22.
WONT, *p.p.* Accustomed. E. xliv. p. 179, l. 14.
WORKE, *v. t.* To produce. C. 10. p. 266, l. 1. E. xxvii. p. 110, l. 30, liii. p. 213, l. 8. Influence. E. xlvii. p. 196, l. 29.
WORKE, *sb.* Pattern. E. v. p. 17, l. 22, xlv. p. 183, l. 27.
WOULD = SHOULD. E. iii. p. 13, l. 29, xxii. p. 92, l. 5, xxxi. p. 135, l. 21, xxxii. p. 137, l. 6, xxxiii. p. 141, l. 18, xxxvii. p. 156, l. 13, xlvi. p. 193, l. 29.
WROUGHT, *p.p.* Worked. E. lvi. p. 223, l. 27.

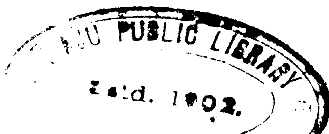
Y.

YEELDED, *p.p.* Given, rendered. C. 7. p. 258, l. 6.

Z.

ZELANT, *sb.* Zealot. E. iii. p. 10, l. 10.
ZEALES, *sb.* Zealous efforts. E. lviii. p. 232, l. 31.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.



MACMILLAN'S

GOLDEN TREASURY SERIES.

UNIFORMLY printed in 18mo., With Vignette Titles by SIR NOEL PATON, T. WOOLNER, W. HOLMAN HUNT, J. E. MILLAIS, ARTHUR HUGHES, &c. Engraved on Steel by JEENS. Bound in extra cloth 4*s.* 6*d.* each volume. Also kept in morocco and calf bindings.

"Messrs. Macmillan have, in their Golden Treasury Series, especially provided editions of standard works, volumes of selected poetry, and original compositions, which entitle this series to be called classical. Nothing can be better than the literary execution, nothing more elegant than the material workmanship."—BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

THE GOLDEN TREASURY OF THE BEST SONGS AND LYRICAL POEMS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. Selected and arranged, with Notes, by FRANCIS TURNER PALGRAVE.

"This delightful little volume, the Golden Treasury, which contains many of the best original lyrical pieces and songs in our language, grouped with care and skill, so as to illustrate each other like the pictures in a well arranged gallery."—QUARTERLY REVIEW.

THE CHILDREN'S GARLAND FROM THE BEST POETS. Selected and arranged by COVENTRY PATMORE.

"It includes specimens of all the great masters in the art of poetry, selected with the matured judgment of a man concentrated on obtaining insight into the feelings and tastes of childhood, and desirous to awaken its finest impulses, to cultivate its keenest sensibilities."—MORNING POST.

THE BOOK OF PRAISE. From the Best English Hymn Writers. Selected and arranged by LORD SELBORNE. *A New and Enlarged Edition.*

"All previous compilations of this kind must undeniably for the present give place to the Book of Praise. . . . The selection has been made throughout with sound judgment and critical taste. The pains involved in this compilation must have been immense, embracing, as it does, every writer of note in this special province of English literature, and ranging over the most widely divergent tracks of religious thought."—SATURDAY REVIEW.

THE FAIRY BOOK; the Best Popular Fairy Stories. Selected and rendered anew by the Author of "JOHN HALIFAX, GENTLEMAN."

"A delightful selection, in a delightful external form; full of the physical splendour and vast opulence of proper fairy tales."—SPECTATOR.

THE BALLAD BOOK. A Selection of the Choicest British Ballads. Edited by WILLIAM ALLINGHAM.

"His taste as a judge of old poetry will be found by all acquainted with the various readings of old English ballads, true enough to justify his undertaking so critical a task."—SATURDAY REVIEW.

THE JEST BOOK. The Choicest Anecdotes and Sayings. Selected and arranged by MARK LEMON.

"The fullest and best jest book that has yet appeared."—SATURDAY REVIEW.

BACON'S ESSAYS AND COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL. With Notes and Glossarial Index. By W. ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A.

"The beautiful little edition of Bacon's Essays, now before us, does credit to the taste and scholarship of Mr. Aldis Wright. . . . It puts the reader in possession of all the essential literary facts and chronology necessary for reading the Essays in connection with Bacon's life and times."—SPECTATOR.

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS from this World to that which is to come. By JOHN BUNYAN.

"A beautiful and scholarly reprint."—SPECTATOR.

THE SUNDAY BOOK OF POETRY FOR THE YOUNG. Selected and arranged by C. F. ALEXANDER.

"A well-selected volume of sacred poetry."—SPECTATOR.

A BOOK OF GOLDEN DEEDS of All Times and All Countries. Gathered and narrated anew. By the Author of "THE HEIR OF REDCLYFFE."

". . . To the young, for whom it is especially intended, as a most interesting collection of thrilling tales well told; and to their elders as a useful handbook of reference, and a pleasant one to take up when their wish is to while away a weary half-hour. We have seen no prettier gift-book for a long time."—ATHENÆUM.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF ROBERT BURNS. Edited, with Biographical Memoir, Notes, and Glossary, by ALEXANDER SMITH. Two Vols.

"Beyond all question this is the most beautiful edition of Burns yet out."—EDINBURGH DAILY REVIEW.

THE ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE. Edited from the original Edition by J. W. CLARK, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

"Mutilated and modified editions of this English classic are so much the rule, that a cheap and pretty copy of it, rigidly exact to the original, will be a prize to many book-buyers."—EXAMINER.

THE REPUBLIC OF PLATO. TRANSLATED into ENGLISH, with Notes by J. Ll. Davies, M.A. and D. J. VAUGHAN, M.A.

"A dainty and cheap little edition."—EXAMINER.

THE SONG BOOK. Words and Tunes from the best Poets and Musicians. Selected and arranged by JOHN HULLAH, Professor of Vocal Music in King's College, London.

"A choice collection of the sterling songs of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the music of each prefixed to the Words. How much true wholesome pleasure such a book can diffuse, and will diffuse, we trust, through many thousand families."—EXAMINER.

LA LYRE FRANCAISE. Selected and arranged, with Notes, by GUSTAVE MASSON, French Master in Harrow School.

"We doubt whether even in France itself so interesting and complete a repertory of the best French Lyrics could be found."—NOTES AND QUERIES.

TOM BROWN'S SCHOOL DAYS. By AN OLD BOY.

"A perfect gem of a book. The best and most healthy book about boys for boys that ever was written."—ILLUSTRATED TIMES.

A BOOK OF WORTHIES. Gathered from the Old Histories and written anew by the Author of "THE HEIR OF REDCLYFFE." With Vignette.

"An admirable addition to an admirable series."—WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

A BOOK OF GOLDEN THOUGHTS. By HENRY ATTWELL, Knight of the Order of the Oak Crown.

"Mr. Attwell has produced a book of rare value. . . . Happily it is small enough to be carried about in the pocket, and of such a companion it would be difficult to weary."—PALL MALL GAZETTE.

GUESSES AT TRUTH. By TWO BROTHERS. *New Edition.*

THE CAVALIER AND HIS LADY. Selections from the Works of the First Duke and Duchess of Newcastle. With an Introductory Essay by EDWARD JENKINS, M.P., Author of "Ginx's Baby," &c. 18mo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

"A charming little volume."—STANDARD.

THEOLOGIA GERMANICA.—Which setteth forth many fair Lineaments of Divine Truth, and saith very lofty and lovely things touching a Perfect Life. Edited by DR. PFEIFFER, from the only complete manuscript yet known. Translated from the German by SUSANNA WINKWORTH. With a Preface by the Rev. Charles Kingsley, and a Letter to the Translator by the Chevalier Bunsen, D.D.

SCOTCH SONG. A Selection of the Choicest Lyrics of Scotland. Compiled and arranged, with brief Notes, by MARY CARLYLE AITKIN. 18mo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

"Miss Aitkin's exquisite collection of Scottish Song is so alluring, and suggests so many topics, that we find it difficult to lay it down. The book is one that should find a place in every library, we had almost said in every pocket, and the summer tourist who wishes to carry with him into the country a volume of genuine poetry, will find it difficult to select one containing within so small a compass so much of rarest value."—SPECTATOR.

MILTON'S POETICAL WORKS. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Memoir, by PROFESSOR MASSON. With Two Portraits. Two vols.

"By far the best and handiest edition of Milton yet published."—DAILY NEWS.

DEUTSCHE LYRIK: The Golden Treasury of the best German Lyrical Poems. Selected and arranged, with Notes and Literary Introduction by DR. Buchheim. 18mo.